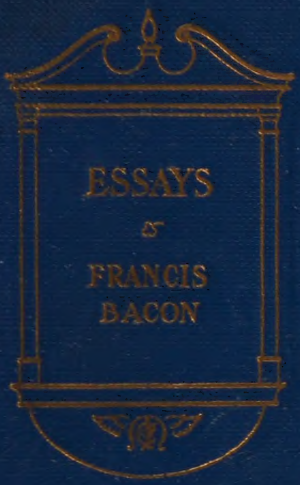
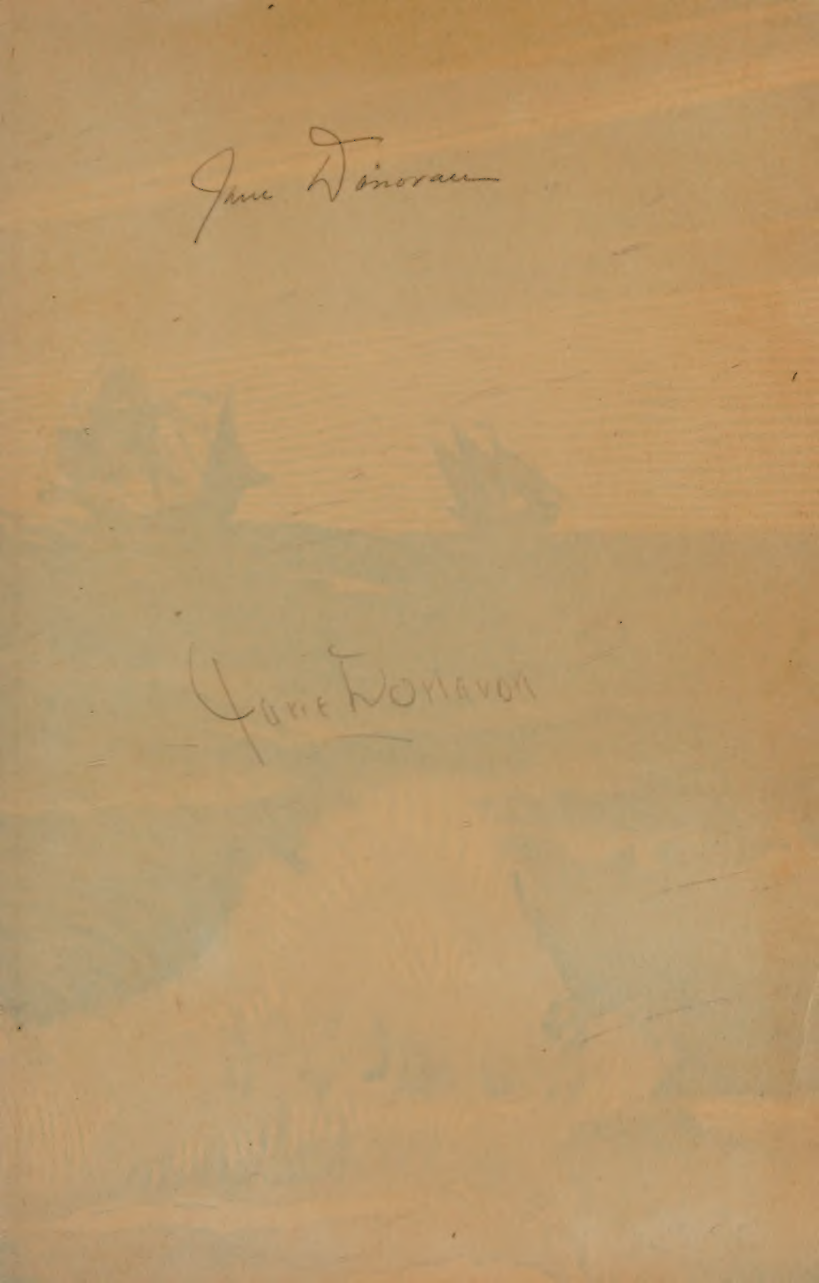

ESSAYS
OF
FRANCIS
BACON

824.3 15049
Bac

Bacon, Francis

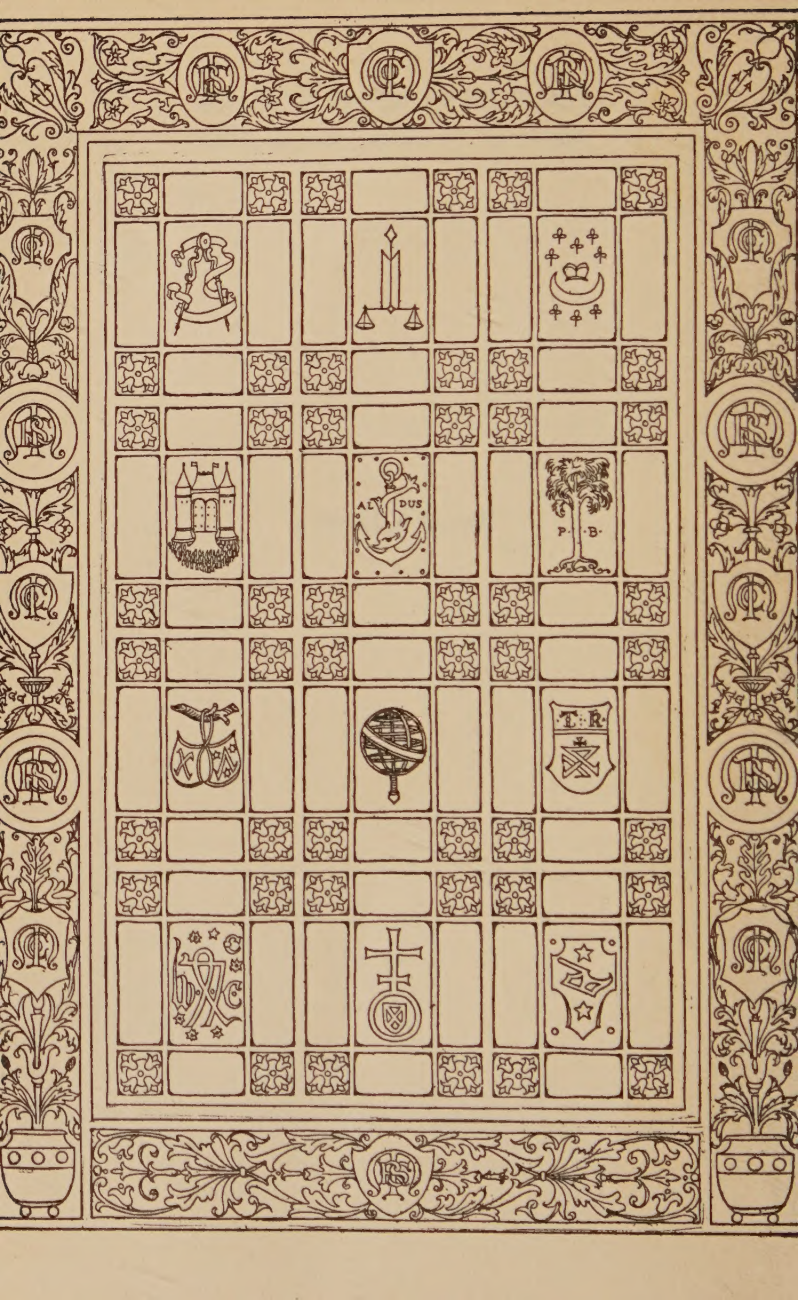
Bacon's essays.



THE MODERN READERS' SERIES

ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE, *General Editor*

Bacon's Essays


AL
DUS
P
B
T
R

824.3
Bac
c.1

Bacon's Essays

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

GUY MONTGOMERY

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Novitiate Library
Mont La Salle
Napa, California

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

PUBLISHERS NEW YORK MCMXXX

15049

THE MODERN READERS' SERIES

COPYRIGHT, 1930,
BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Published in the Modern Readers' Series, July, 1930

SET UP AND ELECTROTYPED BY T. MOREY & SON

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY
STRATFORD PRESS, INC.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editor's Introduction	vii
ESSAYS	
I. Of Truth	1
II. Of Death	3
III. Of Unity in Religion	5
IV. Of Revenge	9
V. Of Adversity	10
VI. Of Simulation and Dissimulation	11
VII. Of Parents and Children	14
VIII. Of Marriage and Single Life	16
IX. Of Envy	17
X. Of Love	22
XI. Of Great Place	24
XII. Of Boldness	27
XIII. Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature	29
XIV. Of Nobility	31
XV. Of Seditions and Troubles	32
XVI. Of Atheism	39
XVII. Of Superstition	42
XVIII. Of Travel	43
XIX. Of Empire	45
XX. Of Counsel	50
XXI. Of Delays	54
XXII. Of Cunning	55
XXIII. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self	59
XXIV. Of Innovations	60
XXV. Of Dispatch	61
XXVI. Of Seeming Wise	63
XXVII. Of Friendship	64
XXVIII. Of Expense	71
XXIX. Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates	72
XXX. Of Regimen of Health	81

PAGE

XXXI. Of Suspicion 83
XXXII. Of Discourse 84
XXXIII. Of Plantations 86
XXXIV. Of Riches 88
XXXV. Of Prophecies 92
XXXVI. Of Ambition 94
XXXVII. Of Masques and Triumphs 96
XXXVIII. Of Nature in Men 98
XXXIX. Of Custom and Education 99
XL. Of Fortune 101
XLI. Of Usury 103
XLII. Of Youth and Age 106
XLIII. Of Beauty 108
XLIV. Of Deformity 109
XLV. Of Building 110
XLVI. Of Gardens 114
XLVII. Of Negotiating 121
XLVIII. Of Followers and Friends 122
XLIX. Of Suitors 124
L. Of Studies 125
LI. Of Faction 127
LII. Of Ceremonies and Respects 128
LIII. Of Praise 130
LIV. Of Vain Glory 131
LV. Of Honour and Reputation 133
LVI. Of Judicature 135
LVII. Of Anger 139
LVIII. Of Vicissitude of Things 141

Notes to the Essays 147
Glossary 161

INTRODUCTION

In the Dedication of the 1625 edition of the Essays, offered to the Duke of Buckingham, Bacon wrote, "I doe now publish my Essayes; which, of all my other Workes, have become most currant: for that, as it seemes, they come home to Mens Businesse and Bosomes." After more than three centuries, the reader who comes upon the work for the first time will find that Bacon's own reflection upon it is as apt as it was when it was written. The superficial features of social and political arrangements may have become altered during the lapse of time, literary style may have changed; 'Mens Businesse and Bosomes' have remained much as they were when Bacon set down his observations of them. That the Essays have been universally admired is at once a tribute to Bacon's preëminence as philosopher and moralist and a promise of the fulfilment of his own prophecy that they "would live as long as books last." It is not the principal purpose of this introductory note to point out specifically the many excellences of the Essays; they will clearly shine forth to the reader whose experience and taste draw him again and again back to his favorites. Rather, is it the aim of this discussion to place the Essays in a setting in which their relationship to Bacon's life and work as a whole will be revealed; to call attention to the fact that when Bacon turned from the world of Nature to the world of Humanity, he approached it with the method that directed his investigations and speculations as scientist and philosopher. To do so will clear the way for a full appreciation of the significance of the Essays as an outline of moral education, and at the same time nullify the temptation

to interpret them as merely shrewd advice for getting on in the world of buying, selling, and voting.

That Bacon's Essays should be regarded as one of the consequences of his proposed method of approach to Nature is perhaps to be expected. His behavior in whatever situation he was placed—civil, philosophical, social—was directed and controlled by a single purpose, "so fixed in my mind," he said, "as it cannot be removed." This purpose, or ambition, was stated in a letter, addressed in 1592, to his uncle Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's influential Lord High Treasurer. Though it is primarily an earnest appeal for a place at court, yet it contains statements that are pertinent to the present discussion. "Again, the meanness of my estate," Bacon wrote, "doth somewhat move me, for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends; for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries: the best of that province. This, whether it be curiosity or vainglory, or nature, or (if one take it favorably) philanthropia, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed. . . . And if your Lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty, but this I will do—I will sell the inheritance I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service, and become some sorry book-maker, or a true pioneer in that mine of truth which (he said) lay so deep."

The search for truth was the ambition that seems to

have animated all of Bacon's conduct. He was quite aware that truth was often overlaid with vain imaginings, and that it was sometimes buried deep beneath stubborn habits of thinking acquired in the past. He was penetrating enough to foretell that until a new logic should guide men in their search for truth, progress in the arts and industries would be slow indeed. He was wise enough, too, to know that "Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showest best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showest best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure." Had he lived long enough he would have appreciated the accuracy of this observation in the neat epigrams of Pope and Macaulay, who, with perhaps more regard for literary style than for truth, have been largely responsible for the persistence of the shadows that have darkened Bacon's reputation in the popular opinion. But Bacon's work needs no apology; it is becoming more and more evident as time goes on that his character calls for no defence. A review of the chief events of his career must not only reveal a fundamental consistency of disposition, but also cast a steadier light upon the Essays.

Francis Bacon was born (January 22, 1560–61) to peculiar advantages, both of environment and heredity. His father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, a celebrated and learned statesman, was Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth. His mother was Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, "unto whom," writes Dr. Rawley, Bacon's chaplain and first biographer, "the erudition of King Edward the Sixth had been committed; a choice lady and eminent for piety, virtue and learning; being exquisitely skilled, for a woman, in the Greek and Latin tongues." Of his early education there are few records; though we have it from Dr. Rawley again that "his first childish years were not without some mark of eminency: at which time he was endued with that pregnancy and towardness of wit, as they were presages of that deep and universal apprehension

which was manifest in him afterward; and caused him to be taken notice of by several persons of worth and place, and especially by the Queen; who (as I have been informed) delighted much then to confer with him, and to prove him with questions; unto whom he delivered himself with that gravity and maturity above his years, that Her Majesty would often term him, "The young Lord-Keeper." Bacon's education can be said truly, however, to have ended only with his life; at least, one may recall that it was during an experiment to test the preservative power of low temperatures that he contracted the illness that put an end to his life. Whether at home, where his mother early introduced him to classical literature, in which he once said he had been 'drenched,' or at Cambridge, whither he was sent in 1573, at the age of thirteen, and where he was to remain three years, or at Gray's Inn with his law books, or at the Bar, engaged in the practice of his chosen profession, or in the service of his Queen, his 'deep and universal apprehension' was striving toward the end he defined in the aphorism that he wished men to understand and apply: "Human knowledge and human power meet in one; for where the cause is not known the effect cannot be produced."

On leaving Cambridge in 1576 he entered Gray's Inn; and in the same year he accompanied Sir Amyas Paulet, English Ambassador, on a diplomatic mission to France. Eagerly he made the best use of his powers of observation during his years abroad. It was not long, however, before he was recalled to England. Sir Nicholas died suddenly in 1579, and Francis returned home, to find that his share of his father's estate was scarcely sufficient for his ordinary needs. At any rate, a career of diplomacy, a taste of which he had had, was now closed to him; his means were too narrow to support the dignity of a diplomat. Dr. Rawley explains the situation as follows: "In his absence in France his father, the Lord-Keeper, died, having collected (as I have heard of knowing persons) a considerable sum of

money, which he had separated with the intention to have made a competent purchase of land for the livelihood of this his youngest son (who alone was unprovided for; and though he was the youngest in years yet he was not the lowest in his father's affection); but the said purchase being unaccomplished at his father's death, there came no greater share to him than his single part and portion of the money dividable amongst five brethren; by which means he lived in some straits and necessities in his younger years." The only course toward the attainment of the contemplative life was a profession by which he might earn a living. Bacon chose the law, and accordingly, in 1579 he became resident at Gray's Inn to complete his preparation. The following year he made his first application to his uncle for preferment at court, but without success. Disappointed he returned to his studies, and for two years remained closely applied to them. In 1582 he was admitted to the Bar, and at once began to gain reputation, though he did not add much to his material fortunes. In 1584 he took his place in the House of Commons for Melcombe, Dorsetshire, and again appealed to his uncle for a place in the government. His second petition was no more fruitful than the first had been, although in 1589, through the influence of Burghley, he did actually receive the reversion of a clerkship of the Star Chamber, worth £1600 a year. Since the vacancy that he would have filled did not occur until twenty years later, Bacon was no better off with the promise than he was before it was made. That he should have been so grievously neglected at this time is somewhat strange, particularly, when it is remembered that the Queen had always admired him. Elizabeth's admiration of Bacon had by no means declined since the time she 'conferred' with him as a child; but Burghley had influence. The Queen was singularly dependent upon the advice of her High Treasurer; and it is possible that he harbored a suspicion that his nephew's advancement would injure the prospects of his own son,

Robert Cecil. Be this as it may, Bacon was obliged to shift for himself and to make the best of such legal practice as was turned his way by the Treasurer and the Queen.

It was during these early years of waiting that the Earl of Essex took Bacon under his patronage. Essex had recognized the unusual promise of the young lawyer and he employed him as legal and political advisor. Between the two men there developed a close friendship, to be broken only when the Earl, unknown to his counsellor, became hopelessly involved in a seditious plot against the Queen, and when Bacon was selected to try the alleged traitor for his life. This was a painful episode in Bacon's career, particularly because of the intimacy that had characterized the relationship between his patron and himself. A conflict of loyalties is at best distressing; the struggle that Bacon must have experienced was especially severe. He had long been aware of the Earl's impetuousness and lack of political sense; and had sought consistently to restrain and guide his friend's energies, but without success. It was when Essex had shown himself both incapable of restraint and unwilling to receive advice that the intimacy between the men cooled, though even when Essex pushed his indiscretions to the extreme Bacon pleaded for him with the Queen. It is a fact that Bacon himself did not know how far the Earl had carried his treasonable plans.

Essex himself was an unfortunate man; cursed with a headstrong nature, and yet possessed of personal charm that endeared him to his friends. His conduct in the affair that led to his undoing is all the more culpable when it is remembered that he had always held a high place in the affections of the Queen and had received favors at her hands that should have prevented his doing anything that would threaten the peace of her reign. He was the grandson of Catherine Carey, Lady Knollys, who was Elizabeth's cousin on the Boleyn side, and who had been before her death Elizabeth's nearest friend. Elizabeth had watched the growth and development of the youth with

love mingled with pain. She had petted and humored him as her own; he had many times taken advantage of this devotion. When he came to manhood he often ignored her requests and flouted her commands. He married without her knowledge, and, as she viewed it, beneath his rank. Elizabeth knew his weaknesses, and when they expressed themselves too violently she sought to restrain them. And, it might be added, when Essex was in disgrace for a piece of misconduct, it was Bacon who pleaded with the Queen for leniency toward the offence. Had Essex been guilty of nothing more than impetuousness, or even, of disrespect, it is probable that as long as the Queen lived he would have been in and out of favor at the court; now banished for a rash act or thoughtless word, now forgiven and reinstated for his attractive person and his liveliness of wit. The Queen could never be long angry with him. Bacon, too, would no doubt have continued his friendship and advice had the actions of Essex been those of a spoiled child.

But the Earl presumed too far upon the patience of the Queen, and in a manner that might have had serious effect upon the peace of the nation. In 1599 he was sent to Ireland as lord deputy to put down rebellion that had broken out in Ulster. His campaign was not successful; but throwing all caution aside, against the explicit command of the Queen not to appear at court until he was summoned, he suddenly left his post and presented himself to Elizabeth to explain his ill success. For this piece of indiscretion and disobedience he was deprived of his high offices, and was commanded to keep his own house at the pleasure of the Queen. Through the efforts of Bacon he regained his liberty. But he was angry at the humiliation he had suffered. While he was smarting with deep resentment over his disgrace and nursing his rage at Elizabeth's refusal to renew his patent for sweet wines, he involved himself in a scheme to arouse a revolution. He rode through the streets of London crying out that his life was threatened.

He was pursued by the guard to his own house, where he defended himself until he was compelled to surrender. The exhibition in the streets caused little more than mild amazement; but during the official investigation of his conduct it was revealed that Essex had been the principal figure in a well-developed plot to seize the Queen. Trial for treason was inevitable. Bacon was appointed Counsel Extraordinary to try the case for the government. The evidence against the Earl seemed unanswerable; the case, then, could have but one conclusion, that of the death penalty.

As Counsel for the Queen Bacon was obliged to build his case upon the evidence brought out during the trial. The obligations of a former friendship doubtless rested heavily upon him; the obligations of patriotism were much more weighty. That he saw here an opportunity to make a name for himself is beside the point; his approach to the case seems to have been consistent with the purpose that he had early defined for himself, the unwavering and disinterested search for truth. If Essex were guilty of conspiring against the safety of the country, he must expect to suffer the penalty for the crime. That Bacon sought to temper the harshness of the trial is clear from his speeches to the judges. The arguments are a matter of record; it may be, however, worth while to quote from them to show not only the moderation with which Bacon proceeded, but also the characteristic logic of his plea:

"My Lord, I expected not that the matter of defence would have been excused this day; to defend is lawful, but to rebel in defence is not lawful; therefore what my Lord of Essex hath here delivered, in my conceit seemeth to be *simile prodigio*. I speak not to simple men, but to prudent, grave, and wise peers, who can draw up out of the circumstances the things themselves. And this I must need say, it is evident that my Lord of Essex had planted a pretence in his heart against the Government, and now, under color of excuse, he layeth the cause upon his particular enemies. My Lord of Essex, I cannot resemble your proceedings more rightly than to one Pisistratus, in Athens, who, coming into the city with purpose to procure the subversion of the kingdom and

wanting aid for the accomplishing his aspiring desires, and as the surest means to win the hearts of the citizens unto him, he entered the city, having cut his body with a knife, to the end that they might conjecture he had been in danger of his life. Even so your Lordship gave out in the streets that your life was sought by the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, by this means persuading yourselves, if the city had undertaken your cause, all would have gone well on your side. By the imprisoning the Queen's councillors, what reference had that fact to my Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, or the rest? You allege the matter to have been resolved on a sudden. No, you were three months in the deliberation thereof. O, my Lord, strive with yourself and strip off all excuses; the persons whom you aimed at, if you rightly understand it, are your best friends. All that you have said, or can say, in answer to these matters, are but shadows. It were your best course to confess and not to justify."

Later, during the trial Bacon continued.

"My Lord, I have never yet seen, in any case, such favor shown to any prisoner; so many digressions, such delivering of evidence by fractions, and so silly a defence of such great and notorious treasons. Your Lordship may see how weakly my Lord of Essex hath shadowed his purpose, and how slenderly he hath answered the objections against him. But admit the case that the Earl's intent were, as he would have it, to go as a suppliant to her Majesty, shall petitioners be armed and guarded? Neither is it a mere point of law, as my Lord of Southampton would have it believed, that condemns them of treason, but it is apparent in common sense; to consult, to execute, to run together in numbers, in doublets and hose, armed with weapons, what color of excuse can be alleged for this? And all this persisted in after being warned by messengers sent from her Majesty's own person. Will any man be so simple as to take this to be less than treason? But, my Lord, doubting that too much variety of matter may occasion forgetfulness, I will only trouble your Lordship's remembrance with this point, rightly comparing this rebellion of my Lord of Essex to the Duke of Guise's, that came upon the barricadoes at Paris in his doublet and hose, attended upon but by eight gentlemen; but his confidence in the city was even such as my Lord's was; and when he had delivered him-self so far into the shallow of his own conceit, and could not accomplish what he expected, the King taking arms against him, he was glad to yield himself, thinking to color his pretexts and his practices by alleging the occasion thereof to be his private quarrel."

To assert that Bacon's conduct in this matter was other than that of an upright man and an honorable subject is to assume that Essex was innocent of high crime. Re-

grettable as it is that Bacon was obliged to face an issue the outcome of which would be the death of a former friend, yet one must admit that he chose the higher loyalty. It is true that his part in the trial of Essex lost him much popular favor; perhaps, however, that loss was outweighed in his mind by the knowledge that he had kept faith with his conscience. He faced a situation to which his own maxim written later might have been aptly applied: "Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others, specially to thy king and country."

To the close of Elizabeth's life Bacon was unprovided for except as he was employed in the capacity of counsellor; but with the accession of James I in 1603, he began to win, though slowly at first, the rewards of long and devoted application to public business. The year the king ascended the throne Bacon received knighthood, and in 1604 was installed as learned counsel with a regular salary of £40 a year, besides a pension of £60. It was in this year also that he published "The Advancement of Learning," dedicated to the king. Two years later he married Alice Barnham, daughter of Benedict Barnham, a merchant of London. During the first few years of James's reign Bacon was to meet disappointments that must have recalled his experiences in the time of Elizabeth. His application for the post of Solicitor-General had been kept before the king; but his cousin, the Earl of Salisbury, and his rival in the law, Sir Edward Coke, saw to it that the application was passed over. Three times Bacon witnessed the rise of others less deserving to the position he sought. In 1607, when he was forty-seven years of age, he was finally made Solicitor-General. He had waited fourteen years for the appointment. From that year his advancement was steady and rapid. In 1613 he became Attorney-General; three years later he was made Privy Counsellor; in 1617 he was advanced to the post of Lord-Keeper; and in January, 1618, he rose to the highest posi-

tion his profession had to offer, that of Lord Chancellor. High honors were bestowed with high office; in 1618 he was created Baron Verulam, and in 1621 the higher title of Viscount St. Alban was given him.

The story of the remaining portion of Bacon's life is that of his fall from power. It is not probable that all of the facts will ever be known; but as far as they have been brought to light, the story is this. On January 27, 1621 Bacon was created Viscount St. Alban. On January 30 of the same year Parliament met, and, in the course of the session, Sir Edward Coke moved that investigation be made into certain public grievances. It so happened that among these were complaints that reflected upon the administration of the courts of justice. A committee was appointed to investigate, and the following March it was reported to the House of Commons that the Lord Chancellor had been guilty of corrupt practice. Two cases of bribery were cited. By the end of the month the number was increased to twenty-two. Indictment for bribery and fraud was framed by the Lords, Bacon was tried and found guilty. His punishment consisted of expulsion from the House of Lords, deprivation of the Seals of Office, a fine of £40,000, and confinement in the Tower at the pleasure of the king. Before we remark upon this catastrophe, it is interesting to note that Bacon remained in prison only four days, and that though he went into retirement and suffered the loss of office and his seat in the House of Lords, he was not obliged to pay his fine, nor were his titles taken from him.

It has been shown that the practice of accepting gifts and fees was general among the officials of the judiciary during the time of Queen Elizabeth and of King James. In fact, these officials were obliged to depend upon such fees as the litigants paid, since only a nominal salary was attached to the office. For public officials to accept gifts was the conventional thing. It is a matter of record, however, that from 1606, a year before Bacon held any

position in the court, to 1620, a year before his fall, the subject of fees had occupied the attention of the House of Commons. Bacon himself had argued effectively against a bill providing for the reduction of some of the fees for copies of documents in the Court of Record. This fact is not without its irony, inasmuch as Bacon owed his fall from power to what was alleged to be an abuse of an ancient custom, which as legislator, he had defended. The notes of his speech against the bill to which allusion has been made have been preserved. They were reprinted by W. H. Dixon in his "Personal History of Lord Bacon," a work, by the way, that contains many illuminating references. A summary of the notes may be of interest.

The request (for the reduction of certain fees) "hath sprung out of the ashes of a decayed monopoly by the spleen of one man; that because he could not continue his new exactions, therefore would pull down ancient fees"; Bacon recalls that in Elizabeth's reign "the like bill was preferred, and much called upon at first, and rejected at the engrossment, not having twenty voices for it." He declares that the bill is "without all precedent," that "it looks extremely back, which is against all justice of Parliament," for "if half these men's livelihoods and fortunes should be taken from them, it were an infinite injustice." Bacon urges that "the suggestion of the bill is utterly false, which in all law is odious. For it suggesteth that these fees have of late years been exacted, which is utterly untrue." Finally,—and this is very important—he maintains that "it casts slander upon all superior judges, as if they had tolerated extortions, whereas there have been severe and strict course taken, and that of late, for the distinguishing of lawful fees from new exactions, and fees reduced to tables, and they published and hanged up in courts, that the subjects be not poled (cheated) nor aggrieved."

One cannot read the notes of the speech which swayed the House against the bill under discussion, without recognizing the fairness of the argument. Bacon saw clearly the danger of breaking down a firm legal barrier that protected the judge from possible temptation were he solely dependent upon a salary paid by the monarch who appointed him. And those who would excuse Bacon's conduct on the ground that he was no worse than the system

under which he lived miss the point. For if Bacon had been a creature of his time he might have urged that the Bench be wholly dependent upon the will of the King, who paid its members, and thus become independent of litigants who paid their fees in accordance with ancient and honorable tradition.

Times, however, were changing during the first quarter of the reign of King James. Many men, Bacon among them, were questioning the validity of an old system, in view of the fact that the private cases at law were becoming much more numerous than the cases in which the crown was one of the litigants. It is conceivable that Sir Edward Coke, an astute lawyer, Bacon's old rival, could see in this shifting of sentiment an opportunity to embarrass if not ruin his great competitor. There is circumstantial evidence that this was Coke's motive for moving an investigation of the practices of the courts of justice. Moreover, Bacon himself became fully aware of the motives of his prosecutors, as the case proceeded against him. He told Buckingham, when the significance of Coke's part in the trial was revealed, "Job himself, or whoever was the justest judge, by such hunting of matters against him as hath been used against me, may for a time seem foul. If this is to be a Chancellor, I think if the Great Seal lay upon Hounslow Heath, nobody would take it up. . . . I know I have clean hands and a clean heart." At the same time, when the charges were brought to him as he lay ill at Gorhambury, he knew that there was nothing to do but to confess; he answered the charges briefly: "upon advised consideration of the charge, descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account as far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence." Why did Bacon incur the risk of the loss of fortune and the humiliation of disgrace, by permitting the charges to go unanswered? It may be that it was as Lord Chancellor that he submitted his unqualified con-

fession of guilt, assuming that the charge was brought against the office, and, that as the incumbent responsible for the conduct of its affairs, which extended throughout many departments, he knew that he could be made technically guilty. By taking this view he could lift the question from the level of a personal quarrel, and thus beat his accusers at their own game. Then too, he was aware of the trend of recent parliamentary discussion of the propriety of fees. In the light of his own manuscript notes on the matter of 'gifts and rewards,' which were made during the course of the trial, and which have been recovered and reprinted by Mr. Dixon in the book to which reference has already been made, it is clear that Bacon felt his conscience clear.

"There be three degrees or cases, as I conceive," he wrote, "of gifts or rewards given to a judge. The first is,—of bargain, contract, or promise of reward, *pendente lite*. . . . And of this my heart tells me I am innocent; that I had no bribe or reward in my eye or thought when I pronounced any sentence or order.

"The second is,—a neglect in the judge to inform himself whether the cause be fully at an end or no what time he receives the gift, but takes it upon the credit of the party that all is done, or otherwise omits to inquire.

"And the third is,—when it is received, *sine fraude*, after the cause is ended; which, it seems, by the opinions of civilians, is no offence.

"For the first, I take myself to be as innocent as any babe born on St. Innocent's day in my heart. For the second, I doubt in some particulars I may be faulty. And for the last, I conceive it no fault."

These notes are but another indication of the clear, direct method of reaching the facts, so characteristic of Bacon's attempt to solve every question. It may be repeated that the question was not new to him; he was quite aware that, since the changed situation in the courts, to which attention has been called, brought more clearly into view the impropriety of the fee and gift system, any serious attempt to embarrass, if not disgrace an officer might be successful. What was once an honorable custom had become, with the shift in sentiment, a questionable practice.

It may be that he was willing to bear the brunt of conviction in order that a system that carried with it dangers to the administration of justice might be changed for one that would in the future not only protect litigants against dishonest judges but also insure the dignity of the high office that he had filled so nobly. His own comment on the outcome of the proceedings against him is significant. He said, "I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years, but it was the justest censure that was in Parliament these two hundred years."

From even so brief a review of the course of his life it is apparent that Bacon's approach to any situation that confronted him was thoroughly objective. That is to say, he could separate the facts that deserved consideration from the personal feelings that may have been stirred by the facts. As legislator, he could speak to the principle involved in a proposed measure; as attorney for the Queen he was able to deal with the evidence alone, regardless of what feelings strove for utterance; as Lord Chancellor he could draw up his decision with regard only to truth and justice—witness the fact that "not one of his thirty-six thousand decrees as Lord Chancellor appears to have been overturned on the score of corruption," a fact that supports the conclusion that he was not corruptly swayed by any gift that he may have taken. This capacity for 'disinterestedness' has been often interpreted as heartlessness. Though critics have recognized the superior intellectual powers of the man who could view phenomena with the clear eyes of self-detachment, yet they have sometimes been inclined to deprecate the power to do so as inhuman. Is there not possibly another and more comprehensive point of view from which to look at this trait so characteristic of Bacon? Consider again the single purpose of his life. It has been stated before, but it will bear repetition: "I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the

other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries: the best of that province." In these words Bacon anticipated not only his method of procedure in 'active' life but also that which was to control the 'contemplative.'

The first great work that was to be a realization of the ambition stated in the foregoing sentence is "The Advancement of Learning," published in 1605. In this work the Scientist speaks. Becoming more specific than he had been in his letter to his uncle, he plans to examine the state of learning as he has found it up to his own time. In addition he describes the means by which men may more surely approach the nature of the world in which they live. Bacon discovers "chiefly three vanities in studies, whereby learning hath been most traduced. For these things we do esteem vain, which are either false, or frivolous, those which either have no truth or no use: and those persons we esteem vain, which are either credulous or curious; and curiosity is either in matter or words: so that in reason as well as in experience, there fall out to be these three distempers (as I may term them) of learning: the first, fantastical learning; the second, contentious learning; and the last, delicate learning; vain imaginations, vain altercations, and vain affectations; and with the last I will begin." From this preface Bacon proceeds to a systematic and exhaustive examination of the defects of learning in all its branches. To this examination he adds general proposals for correcting its deficiencies. To what end? That of leading men to an understanding of Nature in order that they may finally master the forces of the world in which they dwell and labor. If as member of Parliament, lawyer or judge Bacon approached a situation with intellect freed of prejudice and emotion, as scientist he demands that men approach the natural world with clear eyes open to the facts spread out before them.

It is upon this method for dealing with natural phenomena that Bacon's reputation as philosopher rests. Whatever may be said of his actual contribution to natural science, it is beyond doubt that he advanced its cause immeasurably by insisting that progress toward the mastery of nature must be slow until men found their conclusions upon the data of observation and experience. Nature is a book to be read and interpreted. To understand it one must learn the language in which its secrets are set forth; to learn that language one must study the characters that Nature has employed to record her secrets.

Still another work was to carry the suggestions farther. In "The Novum Organum" (New Instrument), published in 1620, Bacon describes at greater length his method for "the interpretation of Nature and the Kingdom of Man." Principles are once more laid down, in the form of Aphorisms. Space permits the quotation of only a few; but these will make clear the point from which the investigator would begin his study of Nature.

I

"Man, being the servant and interpreter of Nature, can do and understand so much and so much only as he has observed in fact or in thought of the course of nature: beyond this he neither knows anything nor can do anything."

III

"Human knowledge and human power meet in one; for where the cause is not known the effect cannot be produced. Nature to be commanded must be obeyed; and that which is contemplation is as the cause is in the operation as the rule."

VI

"It would be an unsound fancy and self-contradictory to expect that things which have never yet been done can be done except by means which have never yet been tried."

XIX

"There are and can be only two ways of searching into and discovering truth. The one flies from the senses and particulars to the most general

axioms, and from these principles, the truth of which it takes for settled and immoveable, proceeds to judgment and to the discovery of the middle axioms. And this way is now in fashion. The other derives axioms from the senses and particulars rising by a gradual and unbroken ascent, so that it arrives at the most general axioms last of all. This is the true way, but as yet untried."

It will be recalled that Bacon early expressed the desire to live only the contemplative life. Circumstances were such, however, that he was obliged to live a life of action. He found himself not only in the realm of Nature but also in the "Kingdom of Man." Now man's adjustment to the world into which he is born depends as much upon his understanding the data of experience with his human companions as upon the facts revealed to his senses. Bacon's observation of human behavior leads him to recognize certain specific dangers that beset men on their way toward truth. He writes: "Idols and false notions which are now in possession of the human understanding, and have taken deep root therein, not only so beset men's minds that truth can hardly find entrance, but even after entrance is obtained, they will again in the very instauration of the sciences meet and trouble us, unless men being forewarned of the danger fortify themselves as far as may be against their assaults." These 'Idols,' or 'false notions' are of four kinds: namely, "Idols of the Tribe," "Idols of the Cave," "Idols of the Market-place," "Idols of the Theatre." Bacon describes them as follows:

"The Idols of the Tribe have their foundation in human nature itself, and in the tribe or race of men. For it is a false assertion that the sense of man is the measure of things. On the contrary, all perceptions as well of the sense as of the mind are according to the measure of the individual and not according to the measure of the universe. And the human understanding is like a false mirror, which, receiving rays irregularly, distorts and discolours the nature of things by mingling its own nature with it.

"The Idols of the Cave are the idols of the individual man. For every one (besides the errors common to human nature in general) has a cave or den of his own, which refracts and discolours the light of nature; owing either to his own proper and peculiar nature; or to his education and conversation with others; or to the reading of books, and the authority

of those whom he esteems or admires; or to the difference of impressions, accordingly as they take place in a mind preoccupied and predisposed or in a mind indifferent and settled; or the like. . . .

"There are also Idols formed by the intercourse and association of men with each other, which I call Idols of the Market-place, on account of the commerce and consort of men there. For it is by discourse that men associate; and words are imposed according to the apprehension of the vulgar. And therefore the ill and unfit choice of words wonderfully obstructs the understanding. . . .

"Lastly, there are Idols which have immigrated into men's minds from the various dogmas of philosophies, and also from wrong laws of demonstration. These I call Idols of the Theatre; because in my judgment all the received systems are but so many stage-plays, representing worlds of their own creation after an unreal and scenic fashion. Nor is it only of the systems now in vogue, or only of the ancient sects and philosophies, that I speak; for many more plays of the same kind may yet be composed and in like artificial manner set forth; seeing that errors the most widely different have nevertheless causes for the most part alike." . . .

Thus Bacon seeks to arouse men to their responsibilities as critical, reasoning beings, whether in the presence of baffling problems of Nature, or confronted with the puzzling behavior of their own kind. To live the complete life one must be capable of maintaining an intelligent course in both the Natural and the Human world.

With the steady eye that enabled him to view the principles of legislation, with the same detachment with which he weighed legal evidence, with the clear mind that brought him to construct his method for approaching the natural world, Bacon composed his Essays, most of which can now be regarded as an 'Instrument' by which the individual may find his way in the world of human beings, each of whom is engaged in the business of adjusting himself to the caprices or the wills of others much like himself. Written and revised over a period of almost thirty years, they are the matured conclusions of a long and busy life in which time was found for reading and meditation. The materials of which the greater number of them are made are the phenomena of human nature, toward which the

author directs the scientific eye as steadily as he directed it toward the multitudinous phenomena of the world of Nature. To read the Essays without placing them in their proper relationship to Bacon's avowed purpose and its realization in his scientific and philosophical work is surely to miss much of their significance. With this relationship fixed, maxims that once seemed merely shrewd advice for 'getting on' in the world are lifted to the plane of truths which a social being can hardly afford to ignore. For in all of his work Bacon insists that men shall see not the thing as they might fancy it should be, or as custom and tradition has declared it must be; but the thing as it becomes revealed in the light of facts that observation turns up to view. There could be nothing final for Bacon as long as there were facts to be investigated; and following his directions mankind should be engaged in a continuous adventure of discovery. Thus Bacon had in mind the future not the past; this fact gives his method that dynamic quality which the modern world recognizes as necessary to all progress. A scientific discovery may bring an outworn tradition or belief crashing in pieces about us; our part is not to mourn over what has been destroyed, but to be thankful for what new thing may be created, now that the old has been cleared away. It should be noted, too, that Bacon urges upon men the necessity of a comprehensive view of Nature. To restrict one's outlook would be to over-emphasize one part, and thus distort the whole. Men are prone to see their own little fields of endeavor as the only corners worth cultivation. Failing to understand that the province of all knowledge consists of many fields of study intimately related one to another, men retard progress toward the mastery of nature. So in the human world; only full experience can give one the security necessary to the development of his best. It was in the hope that the Essays should add to the equipment by which a man might go about more intelligently among his kind, that Bacon wrote them. "I have endeavoured to

make them not vulgar," he declared in the dedication of the edition of 1612, destined for Henry, Prince of Wales, "but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience and little in books; so as they are neither repetitious nor fancies."

GUY MONTGOMERY

Assumes that Truth is a known quality -
Does Not tell what Truth is -
Bacon - believes in the scripture -
Philosophical - Theological truth -
Civil truth.
yet at Truth through discussion of Lies

Bacon's Essays

I

Of Truth

What is truth? said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer.[1] Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers [2] of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masks, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves?

1 Common Place - Lie

One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy [3] 'vinum dæmonum,' because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth, that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense: the last was the light of reason: and his sabbath work ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well:—'It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea: a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle, and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth' (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), 'and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below': so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business; it will be acknowledged even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent;

which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge, saith he, 'If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man'; surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold, that, when 'Christ cometh,' he shall not 'find faith upon the earth.'

II

Of Death

Men fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured; and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, 'Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa.' [1] Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and mas-

ters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear preoccupateth it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness and satiety: 'Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.' [2] A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make: for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment; 'Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale.' [3] Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, 'Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant': [4] Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, 'Ut puto Deus fio': [5] Galba with a sentence, 'Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani,' [6] holding forth his neck: Septimus Severus in dispatch, 'Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum,' [7] and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, 'qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ.' [8] It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death; but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is 'Nunc dimittis,' [9] when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: 'Extinctus amabitur idem.' [10]

III

Of Unity in Religion

Religion being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals: yea, more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual: so that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity: and therefore whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, 'Ecce in Deserto,' another saith, 'Ecce in penetralibus'; [1] that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, 'nolite exire,'—'go not out.' The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, 'If a heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?' [2] and, certainly, it is little better: when atheists and profane

persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them 'to sit down in the chair of the scorners.' [3] It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, 'The Morris-Dance of Heretics': [4] for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe, by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politicians, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bounds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealots all speech of pacification is odious. 'Is it peace, Jehu?'—'What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.' [5] Peace is not the matter, but following, and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons [6] think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrament between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded: 'He that is not with us, is against us'; and again, 'He that is not against us, is with us'; that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, 'Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours'; whereupon he saith, 'In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit,' [7] they be two things, unity and uniformity; the other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment, which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same; 'Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ.' [8] Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms, so fixed as, whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; [9] they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware that, in the procuring or muniting of religious

unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion: but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorise conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God; for this is but to dash the first table against the second;[10] and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

'Tantum religio potuit suadere malarum.'[11]

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France,[12] or the powder treason of England?[13] He would have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was, for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, 'I will ascend and be like the Highest'; but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, 'I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness': and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins; therefore it is most necessary that the church

by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod, do damn, and send to hell for ever those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that council of the apostle would be prefixed, 'Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei':[14] and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

IV

Of Revenge

Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out; for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing over it, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon, I am sure, saith, 'It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.' That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong, merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous

the party should know whence it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. 'You shall read,' saith he, 'that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.' But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: 'Shall we,' saith he, 'take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?' and so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third of France; and many more.[1] But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindictive persons live the life of witches: who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

V

Of Adversity[1]

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that, 'the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired.' ('Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.') Certainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), 'It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God.' ('Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.') This would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is

figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, 'that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus [2] (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher,' lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean, the virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI

Of Simulation and Dissimulation

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, 'Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius': and

again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, 'We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.' These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be showed at half-lights, and to whom and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler: for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly, by one that cannot well see. Certainly, the ablest men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self: the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is: the second, dissimulation in the negative; when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is; and the third, simulation in the affirmative; when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery,

as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and as in confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say truth, nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers, and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not; therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral: and in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and, therefore, a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which, because a

man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three: first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them: the second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall: the third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, 'Tell a lie and find a troth'; as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even; the first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark; the second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that, perhaps, would otherwise cooperate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends; the third, and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

VII

Of Parents and Children

The joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter; they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit,

and noble works, are proper to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds where those of their bodies have failed; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon saith, 'A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.' A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their children, is a harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort with mean company, and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and, therefore, the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolk; but so they be of the lump, they care not, though they pass not through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman, more than his own parent as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible, and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking

they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection, or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, 'Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo.'[1]—Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII

Of Marriage and Single Life

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences; nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges; nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer; for, perhaps they have heard some talk, 'Such an one is a great rich man,' and another except to it, 'Yea, but he hath a great charge of children'; as if it were an abatement to his riches: but the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects, for they are light to run away, and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must

first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted (good to make severe inquisitors), because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was said of Ulysses, 'Vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati.' [1] Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she think her husband wise, which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses, so as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will: but yet he was reputed one of the wise men that made answer to the question when a man should marry: 'A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.' It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husbands' kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX

Of Envy

There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but love and envy: they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into

imaginations and suggestions, and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the Scripture calleth envy an evil eye; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil aspects; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye: nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle what persons are apt to envy others, what persons are most subject to be envied themselves, and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others; for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand, by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others: neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: 'Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.' [1]

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons and eunuchs, and old men and bastards, are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, 'That a eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters,' affecting the honour of a miracle: as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain-glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work: [2] it being impossible, but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works, wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolk and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied, for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied

but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre: for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth: besides, there seemeth not so much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground, than upon a flat; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and 'per saltum.'[3]

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy; wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a 'quanta patimur';[4] not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy: but this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places; for, by that means, there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that

do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain-glory) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the lot (as they call it), and to lay it upon another; for which purpose the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy: there is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great; and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word 'invidia,' [5] goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment, of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection; for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it, so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour; and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions; for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates

themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, 'Invidia festos dies non agit':[6] for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called 'The envious man that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night';[7] as it always cometh to pass that envy worketh subtilely, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X

Of Love

The stage is more beholding to love than the life of man; for as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a Fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love, which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome,[1] and Appius Claudius, the Decemvir and lawgiver;[2] whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere

and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, 'Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus':[3] as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love; neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said, 'That the arch flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self'; certainly the lover is more; for there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, 'That it is impossible to love and to be wise.' Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciprocal; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciprocal, or with an inward and secret contempt; by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them: 'That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas';[4] for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly. They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men

that they can nowise to be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is, but as they are given to wine, for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometimes in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind, friendly love perfecteth it, but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI

Of Great Place

Men in great place are thrice servants—servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing: 'Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.' [1] Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street-door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within; for they are the first that find their own

griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. 'Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.' [2] In place there is license to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will, the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts, though God accept them, yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. 'Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis'; [3] and then the Sabbath.

In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated; but yet ask counsel of both times—of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather

assume thy right in silence, and 'de facto,' [4] than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four: delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servant's hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering; for integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption: therefore, always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without; as Solomon saith, 'To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.'

It is most true that was anciently spoken: 'A place showeth the man; and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse': 'Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset,' [5] saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, 'Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius'; [6] though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other

of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends; for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. But not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, 'When he sits in place, he is another man.'

XII

Of Boldness

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, what was the chief part of an orator? he answered, Action: what next?—Action: what next again?—Action. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful-like is the case of boldness in civil business; what first?—boldness; what second and third?—boldness: and yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: but, nevertheless, it doth fasci-

nate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times; therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more, ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out; nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, 'If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.' So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous; for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity; especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir; but this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is,

that they never command in chief, but be seconds and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be very great.

XIII

Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature

I take goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call 'philanthropia'; and the word humanity (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall; but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl! Errors, indeed, in this virtue, at goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, 'Tanto buon che val niente':—'So good, that he is good for nothing': and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, 'That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust'; [1] which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law, or sect, or opinion did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion

doth: therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of a habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; 'He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and the unjust'; but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally: common benefits are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern; for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern; the love of our neighbours but the portraiture: 'Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me': but sell not all thou hast except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great, for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity: for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon anything that is raw; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had:[2] such dispositions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber, to make great politics of; like to knee timber, that is good for ships that

are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them: if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm; if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot: if he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash: but, above all, if we have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ for the salvation of his brethren, it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

XIV

Of Nobility

We will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal: but for democracies they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition than where there are stirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power, and putteth life and

spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time! for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts; but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is; besides, noble persons cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

XV

Of Seditions and Troubles

Shepherds of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest

about the equinoctia, and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:—

> 'Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
> Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.' [1]

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort false news, often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants:—

> 'Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
> Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
> Progenuit.' [2]

As if fames were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for what shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, 'Conflatâ magna invidiâ, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt.' [3] Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: 'Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent imperantium mandata interpretari, quam exsequi'; [4] disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side; it is, as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself: for when the authority of princes is made but an accessary to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost; for the motions of the greater persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under 'primum mobile,' [5] according to the old opinion, which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and as Tacitus expresseth it well, 'liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent,' [6] it is a sign the orbs are out of frame: for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; 'Solvam cingula regum.' [7]

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions; then of the motives of them; and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds; much poverty and much dis-

contentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:—

> 'Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
> Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.' [8]

This same 'multis utile bellum,' is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great: for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: 'Dolendi modus, timendi non item': [9] besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so; neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, 'The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.'

The causes and motives of seditions are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we spake, which is, want and poverty in the estate: to which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess, by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them: neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number, that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more: therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock; and, in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner [10] (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, or carriage; so that, if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that, 'materiam superabit opus,' [11] that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more: as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve: and money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at least, keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, engrossing great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or, at least, the danger of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves: then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery), is a safe way: for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers, and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus [12] might well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments: and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction;

and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope; which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular: which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies; for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches, which have fallen from princes, have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech—'Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare';[13] for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, 'Legi a se militem, non emi';[14] for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech, 'Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus';[15] a speech of great despair for the soldiers, and many the like. Surely princes had need in tender matters and ticklish times to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their

secret intentions; for as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith; 'Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur': [16] but let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI

Of Atheism

I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran,[1] than that this universal frame is without a mind; and, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered,[2] it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity: nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion: that is, the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus: [3] for it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions, or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The Scripture saith, 'The fool hath said in

his heart, there is no God'; it is not said, 'The fool hath thought in his heart'; so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God.[4] It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others; nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporise, though in secret he thought there was no God: but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: 'Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum.' [5] Plato could have said no more; and although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, etc., but not the word Deus, which shows that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it; so that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare; a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian [6] perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists: but the great atheists indeed

are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterised in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if they be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism; another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, 'Non est jam dicere ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos':[7] a third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy a man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or 'melior natura';[8] which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain: therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations: never was there such a state of magnanimity as Rome. Of this state hear what Cicero saith; 'Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religone, atque hâc unâ sapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, nationesque superavimus.'[9]

XVII

Of Superstition

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose, 'Surely,' saith he, 'I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born'; as the poets speak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men: therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times; but superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new 'primum mobile,' that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools: and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order.[1] It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent,[2] where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs to save the phenomena, though they knew there were no such things; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the Church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; overgreat reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the

Church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed: and as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

XVIII

Of Travel

Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation: let diaries, therefore, be brought in use.

The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and so the havens and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; armories, arsenals, magazines, exchanges, burses, warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them: yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance; let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth: let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his

favour in those things he desireth to see or know; thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame; for quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words; and let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth; and let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

XIX

Of Empire

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of Kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear: and this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, 'That the king's heart is inscrutable': for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart

hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art, or feat of the hand: as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow: Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that Kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian, and in our memory, Charles the Fifth, and others; for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries; but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, 'What was Nero's overthrow?' he answered, 'Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high,[1] sometimes to let them down too low.' And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof: but this is but to try masteries with fortune; and let men beware how they

neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared. For no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories; 'Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ'; [2] for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours, there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, King of France, and Charles the Fifth, Emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in anywise take up peace at interest: and the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy), made between Ferdinando, King of Naples, Lorenzius Medicis, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation; for there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxolana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England's Queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband.

This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the King's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty Kings; William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second.

The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the King, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles, to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a King more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything that he desires. I have noted it in my history of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility, whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles, there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt: besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are 'vena porta'; and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the King's revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war, it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives; whereof we see examples in the Janizaries and Prætorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, 'Mememto quod es homo'; and 'Memento quod es Deus,' or 'vice Dei';[3] the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX

Of Counsel

The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, 'The Counsellor.' Solomon hath pronounced that, 'in counsel is stability.' Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it: for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with Kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by Kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other, in that which followeth,

which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up: whereby he became himself with child and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how Kings are to make use of their counsel of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed), proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select; neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do; but let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves: and, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, 'Plenus rimarum sum':[1] one futile person,

that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the King: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the King's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority, the fable [2] showeth the remedy: nay, the majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of council; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies by his council, except where there hath been either an over greatness in one counsellor, or an over strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, 'non inveniet fidem super terram,' [3] is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the King's ear: but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them:

'Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.' [4]

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's

business than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours; therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images: and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of person: neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, 'secundum genera,' [5] as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, 'Optimi consiliarii mortui': [6] 'books will speak plain when counsellors blanch'; therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; 'In nocte consilium': [7] so was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may 'hoc agere.' [8] In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend, also, standing commissions; as for trade, for treas-

ure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like), be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A King, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of 'placebo.' [9]

XXI

Of Delays

Fortune is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price; for occasion (as it is in the common verse) 'turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken'; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them; nay, it were better to meet some dangers half-way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds

he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low, and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch and then to speed; for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII

Of Cunning

We take cunning for a sinister, or crooked wisdom; and certainly there is great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, 'Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis,' [1] doth scarce hold for them; and, because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances: yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she might the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him, with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, 'And I had not before that time been sad before the king.' [2]

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.[3]

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, 'The world says,' or 'There is a speech abroad.'

I knew one, that when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a by-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most: and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be opposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; who, hearing of a declination of a monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call 'the turning of the cat in the pan'; which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, 'This I do not'; as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, 'Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare.' [4]

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale, which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's,[5] another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls of business that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room: therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are noways able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon soundness of their own proceedings: but Solomon saith, 'Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos.' [6]

XXIII

Of Wisdom for a Man's Self

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden: and certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others, specially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth; for that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self, is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune; but it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state: therefore let princes or states choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's: and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs: and, for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a house on fire, an it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters because their

study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are, 'sui amantes, sine rivali,'[1] are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their times sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV

Of Innovations

As the births of living creatures at first are illshapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation; for ill to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: besides, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood

still, which, contrariwise, moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some and pairs others; and he that is holpen, takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation; and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect, and, as the Scripture saith, 'That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.'

XXV

Of Dispatch

Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be: it is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of crudities, and secret seeds of diseases: therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business: and as in races, it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some, only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch: but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and business so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly

backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, 'Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.'

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: 'Mi venga la muerte de Spagna';—'Let my death come from Spain'; for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course; but sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe, or mantle, with a long train, is for a race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment, or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtile: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time, is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the

air. There be three parts of business: the preparation; the debate, or examination; and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding, upon somewhat conceived in writing, doth for the most part facilitate dispatch; for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVI

Of Seeming Wise

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are; but howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man; for as the apostle saith of godliness, 'Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof'; so certainly there are, in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly; 'magno conatu nugas.' [1] It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make superficies to seem body, that have depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; 'Respondes altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio; crudelitatem tibi non placere.' [2] Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem

to despise, or make light of it as impertinent or curious: and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius saith, 'Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera.' [3] Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagorus, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions, from the beginning to the end. Generally such men, in all deliberations, find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work: which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

XXVII

Of Friendship

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech, 'Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god': for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversion towards society in any man hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides, the Candian; Numa, the Roman; Empedocles, the Sicilian; and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers

of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little, 'Magna civitas, magna solitudo';[1] because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods: but we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness: for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace, or conversation; but the Roman name

attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them 'participes curarum'; for it is that which tieth the knot and we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (surnamed the Great) to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch, for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting. With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death: for when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calphurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream; and it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him 'venefica,'—'witch'; as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great. With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, 'Hæc pro amicitiâ nostrâ non occultavi';[2] and the

whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words: 'I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me.' Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half-piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Louis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true, 'Cor ne edito,'— 'eat not the heart.' Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves: for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth

the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists used to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature: but yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action, and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so is it of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts: neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, 'That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.' Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel (they indeed are best), but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation: which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, 'Dry light is ever the best': and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business: for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health, is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case; but the best receipt (best I say to work and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men 'that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour.' As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight: and if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be

by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well (that is to say, better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all); but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief, and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore, may put you in a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease, and kill the patient: but a friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience; and therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegrante, full of many kernels; I mean aid, and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself: and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients to say, 'that a friend is another himself': for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place: but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted

to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there, which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person: but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII

Of Expense

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken: but wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and

change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel: if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable: and the like. For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair may not despise small things; and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

XXIX

Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates

The speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, 'He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.' These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two different abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their

gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient, 'negotiis pares,' able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end, that neither by over-measuring their forces, they lose themselves in vain enterprises: nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel, or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artil-

lery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for, as Virgil saith, 'It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.' The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, 'He would not pilfer the victory': and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, 'Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight'; but before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing: for Solon said well to Crœsus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), 'Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.' Therefore, let any prince, or state, think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that, whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; that the same people, or nation, should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens; [1] neither will it be,

that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England; for, you must note, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for a helmet: especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not: and herein the device of King Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

'Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ.' [2]

Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and, therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence, and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy [3] be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown, or state, bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern; therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire; for to think that a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becoming too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called 'jus civitatis') and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only 'jus commercii, jus connubii, jus hæreditatis'; but also, 'jus suffragii,' and 'jus honorum'; and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations,

and, putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands; nay, it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the pragmatical sanction,[4] now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures; but that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts; as smiths, masons, carpenters, etc., not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act?

Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time: the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are in effect only the Spaniards: but it is so plain, that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths; and, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this point is, for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some, at the least specious grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war: first, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be pressed and ready to give aids and succours to their con-

federates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederate had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia: or, when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies: or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and, certainly, to a kingdom, or estate; a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt: but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business) always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus, of Pompey's preparation against Cæsar, saith, 'Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri';[5] and without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided

the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes, or states, have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain; that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the escutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things; but in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages; but above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things; honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in

the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care taking (as the Scripture saith), 'add a cubit to his stature,' in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX

Of Regimen of Health

There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health; but it is a safer conclusion to say, 'This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it'; than this, 'I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it': for strength of nature in youth passes over many excesses which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in anything thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To

be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat, and of sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys, and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects; as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet, for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action: for those that put their bodies to endure in health, may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and comformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI

Of Suspicion

Suspicions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly: they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures, as in the example of Henry VII of England; there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no; but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false: for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean, to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion. But this

would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, 'Sospetto licentia fede'; [1] as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII

Of Discourse

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain commonplaces and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary, and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest; for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now, to jade anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled;

'Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortuis utere loris.' [1]

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he

apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge; but let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser; and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as musicians used to do with those that dance to long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, 'He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself': and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, 'Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given?' To which the guest would answer, 'Such and such a thing passed.' The lord would say, 'I thought he would mar a good dinner.' Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness; and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances, ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII

Of Plantations [1]

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young, it begat more children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted, to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years' profit, and expect your recompense in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand: as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what victual, or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as

for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts, or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private use. Consider, likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation; so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of baysalt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience: growing silk, likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail; so drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit: soap-ashes, likewise, and other things that may be thought of; but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service, before their eyes: let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be

rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds: therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation, that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pierced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

XXXIV

Of Riches

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, 'impedimenta'; for as the bag-

gage is to an army, so is riches to virtue; it cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory: of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit; so saith Solomon, 'Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?' The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Solomon saith, 'Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man'; but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact: for, certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract nor friarly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, 'In studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri.' [1] Hearken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches: 'Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons.' [2] The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning, that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil: for when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression, and unjust means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and

most of them foul: parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow; and yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber-man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, 'That himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches'; for when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains, which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly: by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity: broke by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naught; as for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, 'in sudore vultûs alieni'; [3] and besides, doth plough upon Sundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune, in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth

in riches, as it was with the first sugarman in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit: he that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for resale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, 'Testamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi'),[4] it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches, for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not pennywise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment: likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly: therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

XXXV

Of Prophecies

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa [1] to Saul, 'To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me.' Virgil hath these verses from Homer:—

> 'Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
> Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.' [2]

A prophecy as it seems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

> '————Venient annis
> Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
> Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
> Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
> Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
> Ultima Thule': [3]

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, 'Philippis iterum me videbis.' [4] Tiberius said to Galba, 'Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium.' [5] In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea, should reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made

golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, 'This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.' When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels; but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

'When hempe is spunne
England's done':

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hempe (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the king's style is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

'There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.'

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

'Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,'[6]

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in

number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest; it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon: and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology: but I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside: though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do, generally, also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect: as that of Seneca's verse; for so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus, and his Atlanticus, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event past.

XXXVI

Of Ambition

Ambition is like choler, which is a humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped: but if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venom-

ous: so ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state: therefore it is good for princes if they use ambitious men, to handle it so, as they be still progressive, and not retrograde; which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all; for if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest: and to take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones; for when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over great. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud as they: but then there must be

some middle counsellors, to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in everything; for that breeds confusion, and mars business: but yet, it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependencies. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it: the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery; and let them discern a busy nature, from a willing mind.

XXXVII

Of Masques and Triumphs

These things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in

quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly (a base and a tenor; no treble), and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally, let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that show best by candlelight, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green; and ouches, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost, and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizors are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques: and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other side, as unfit; but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet

odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety; but all is nothing, except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance, or in the bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII

Of Nature in Men

Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings: and at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders, or rushes; but, after a time, let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes; for it breeds great perfection, if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity: as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether: but if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

'Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.' [1]

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission: for both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions; but let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion, or temptation; like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her: therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, 'Multum incola fuit anima mea,' [2] when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX

Of Custom and Education

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination: their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed: and, therefore, as Machiavel well noteth

(though in an evil-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood; but Machiavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood.[1] In other things the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as quecking. I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body: therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in

languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards; for it is true, that late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare: but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater; for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds; but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL

Of Fortune

It cannot be denied, but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue: but chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands: 'Faber quisque fortunæ suæ,' [1] saith the poet; and the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. 'Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco.' [2] Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name, 'disemboltura,' partly expresseth them, when there be not stonds nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune; for so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, 'In illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi fuit,

ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur'),[3] falleth upon that that he had 'versatile ingenium'. Therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune; for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of Fortune is like the milky way in the sky; which is a meeting, or knot, of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together: so are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath 'Poco di matto'; and certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest; therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate; neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. A hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover; (the French hath it better, 'entreprenant,' or 'remuant'); but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two Felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, 'Cæsarem portas et fortunam ejus.'[4] So Sylla chose the name of 'Felix,' and not of 'Magnus':[5] and it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end unfortunate. It is written, that Timotheus, the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, 'and in this Fortune had no part,' never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose

fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

XLI

Of Usury

Many have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is a pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe; that the usurer is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

'Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent';[1]

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, 'in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum'; not, 'in sudore vultûs alieni';[2] that usurers should have orange-tawny[3] bonnets, because they do Judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget money, and the like. I say this only, that usury is a 'concessum propter duritiem cordis':[4] for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions; but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out; and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandising, which is the 'vena porta' of wealth in a state: the second, that it makes poor merchants;

for as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury: the third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of customs of kings, or states, which ebb or flow with merchandising: the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands; for the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread: the fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandising, or purchasing, and usury waylays both: the sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug: the last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respects hindereth merchandising, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade: the second is, that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods), far under foot, and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel moneyed man in the country, that would say, 'The devil take thus usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds.' The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the

number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate, or other; so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reglement of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite moneyed men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money: and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandise being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus: that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all; the other under license only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandising. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same; this will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five: this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a higher rate, and let it be with the cautions following: let the rate be, even

with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever; let it be no bank or common stock, but every man be master of his own money; not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered, some small matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandising; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's moneys in the country: so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will send his moneys far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

XLII

Of Youth and Age

A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time; but that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: for there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages; and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus;

of the latter of whom it is said, 'Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus plenam'; [1] and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list; but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled business; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner.

Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and that, which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth: but, for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the preeminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin, upon the text, 'Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams,' inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision

is a clearer revelation than a dream; and certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned: such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed stupid: a second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions, which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech, which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, 'Idem manebat, neque idem decebat'; [2] the third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith, in effect, 'Ultima primis cedebant.' [3]

XLIII

Of Beauty

Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect; neither is it almost seen that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour, than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour, is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion, more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express; no, nor the

first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions: the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them: not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music), and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though persons in years seem many times more amiable; 'Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher'; [1] for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtues shine, and vices blush.

XLIV

Of Deformity

Deformed persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith), 'void of natural affection'; and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other: 'Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero': but because there is in man an election, touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is

good to consider of deformity, not as a sign which is more deceivable, but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold; first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession: so that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious towards one; but yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials, and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers: and much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn: which must be either by virtue or malice; and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV

Of Building

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build

them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison: neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat; but ill ways, ill markets, and, if you will consult with Momus,[1] ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water, want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures; want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh everything dear; where a man hath a great living laid together; and where he is scanted; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, 'Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?' Lucullus answered, 'Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?'

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books De Oratore, and a book he entitles Orator; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof; for it is strange to see, now in Europe,

such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Esther, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that as it were joineth them together on either hand. I would have, on the side of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel (with a partition between), both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk underground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high apiece above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statues interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining-place of servants; for, otherwise, you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel. And so much for the front: only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front; and in all

the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter: but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works: on the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers: and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For inbowed windows, I hold them of good use (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street); for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost through the room doth scarce pass the window: but let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story: on the under story towards the garden, let it be turned to grotto, or place of shade, or estivation; and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground to avoid all dampishness: and let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst of this court, and

to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, 'anticamera,' and 'recamera,' joining to it; this upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story, likewise an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that can be thought upon. In the upper gallery, too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

XLVI

Of Gardens

God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handyworks: and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if

gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter: holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pineapple-trees; fir-trees, rosemary, lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander, flags, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms: crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses, anemones, the early tulip, the hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris fritellaria. For March, there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures; rosemary-flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marygold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, genitings, codlins. In August comes plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricots, barberries, filberts, musk-melons, monks-hoods, of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens,

quinces. In October, and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have 'ver perpetuum,' as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music), than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewise, yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram; that which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, especially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet-briar, then wallflowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, specially the matted pink and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime-trees; then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field-flowers; but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three; that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mints; therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed princelike, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided

into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath, or desert, in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides; and I like well, that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden: but because the alley will be long, and in great heat of the year, or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green; therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots, or figures, with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys; you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of

this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first, it be not too bushy, or full of work; wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine banqueting-house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures; the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water: the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern: that the water be never by rest discoloured, green, or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction; besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand: also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing-pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise;

and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statues: but the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little; and for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking-glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade; and these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with lilium convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly; part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without: the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, and such like: but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade; some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them like-

wise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery: and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges; and this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost: but it is nothing for great princes, that for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statues and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII

Of Negotiating

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go: and generally where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start of first performance is all: which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before: or else a man can persuade the

other party, that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man. All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares; and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII

Of Followers and Friends

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence, that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience, for they taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire

the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others; yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like), hath ever been a thing civil and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity: but the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons; and yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able; and besides, to speak truth in base times, active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government, it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due: but contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe; for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure, or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour; yet to be distracted with many, is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX

Of Suitors

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds; that intend not performance. Some embrace suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter, by some other mean they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or at least, to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place; so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of

the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit, is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors; but doth quicken and awake others: but timing of the suit is the principal; timing I say not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean, than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. 'Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras,' [1] is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

L

Of Studies

Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business; for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one: but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs come best from those that are learned. To spend

too much time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar: they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend: 'Abeunt studia in mores'; [1] nay, there is no stand or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head and the like; so if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit

be not apt to distinguish or find difference, let him study the schoolmen; for they are 'Cymini sectores.' If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases: so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI

Of Faction

Many have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one: but I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men in their rising must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral: yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a great number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called 'optimates') held out a while against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions: and therefore, those that are seconds in

factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove ciphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter; thinking, belike, that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth 'Padre comune': and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king 'tanquam unus ex nobis';[1] as was to be seen in the League of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of 'primum mobile.'

LII

Of Ceremonies and Respects

He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil; but if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains: for

the proverb is true, 'That light gains make heavy purses'; for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: so it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals; therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms; to attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks; and, certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state; amongst a man's inferiors, one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others, is good; so it be with demonstration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept, generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so suffi-

cient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, 'He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.' A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

LIII

Of Praise

Praise is the reflection of virtue; but it is glass, or body, which giveth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and nought, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all; but shows and 'species virtutibus similes' [1] serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid; but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith), 'Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis'; [2] it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and

is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce, 'spretâ conscientiâ.' [3] Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, 'laudando præcipere'; [4] when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be; some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; 'Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium'; [5] insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that, 'he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose'; as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie: certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon saith, 'He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse.' Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business; for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, sbirrerie, which is under-sheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, 'I speak like a fool'; but speaking of his calling, he saith, 'Magnificabo apostolatum meum.' [6]

LIV

Of Vain Glory

It was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot-wheel, and said, 'What a dust do I raise!' So are there some vain persons, that, whatsoever

goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts; neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb, 'Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit';—'much bruit, little fruit.' Yet, certainly there is use of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth, in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies; as if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either; and in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory, one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation: 'Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.' [1] Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation: certainly, vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received its due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while,

when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, 'Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator':[2] for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and, in some persons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excusations, cessions, modesty itself, well governed, are but arts of ostentation; and amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection: for, saith Pliny very wittily, 'In commending another, you do yourself right': for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior: if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.' Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

LV

Of Honour and Reputation

The winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the show of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour

that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets; and therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: 'Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.' [1] Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to seek merit than fame: and by attributing a man's successes rather to Divine providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: in the first place are 'conditores imperiorum,' founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael: in the second place are 'legislatores,' lawgivers; which are also called second founders, or 'perpetui principes,' because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile the Wise, that made the 'Siete Partidas': [2] in the third place are 'liberatores,' or 'salvatores,' such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France: in the fourth place are 'propagatores,' or 'propugnatores imperii,' such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders; and, in the last place, are 'patres patriæ,' which reign justly and make the times good wherein they live; both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, 'participes curarum,' those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their right hands, as we call them: the next are 'duces belli,' great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars: the third are 'gratiosi,' favourites; such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people: and the fourth,

'negotiis pares'; such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country: as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

LVI

Of Judicature

Judges ought to remember that their office is 'jus dicere,' and not 'jus dare'; to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law; else will it be like the authority claimed by the Church of Rome, which, under pretext of exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. 'Cursed (saith the law) is he that removeth the landmark.' The mislayer of a mere stone is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain: so saith Solomon, 'Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario.' [1] The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. 'There be (saith the Scripture) that turn judgment into wormwood'; and surely there be, also, that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud

when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. 'Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem';[2] and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws: especially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, 'Pluet super eos laqueos';[3] for penal laws pressed, are a shower of snares upon the people: therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution: 'Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum,' etc.[4] In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said; and to

give the rule, or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory, and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest: but it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence; and let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half-way nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is a hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench but the foot-pace and precincts, and purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for, certainly, 'Grapes (as the Scripture saith) will not be gathered of thorns or thistles'; neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments: first, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell, and the country pine: the second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly 'amici curiæ,' but 'parasiti curiæ,' in puffing a

court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantage: the third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts: persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees: which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables, 'Salus populi suprema lex';[5] and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired: therefore it is a happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law; for many times the things deduced to judgment may be 'meum' and 'tuum,' when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people: and let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne: being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty.

Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs: 'Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime.' [6]

LVII

Of Anger

To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: 'Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down upon your anger.' Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit, 'to be angry,' may be attempered and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life: and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, 'that anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.' The Scripture exhorteth us 'to possess our souls in patience'; whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

——'animasque in vulnere ponunt.' [1]

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns: children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three: first, to be too sensible of hurt; for no

man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much, or more, than the hurt itself; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Gonsalvo was wont to say, 'Telam honoris crassiorem.' [2] But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution: the one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper; for 'communia maledicta' are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society: the other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger; but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are forwardest and worst disposed to incense them; again, by gathering (as we touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries; the former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business; for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII

Of Vicissitude of Things

Solomon saith, 'There is no new thing upon the earth'; so that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance; so Solomon giveth his sentence, 'That all novelty is but oblivion'; whereby you may see, that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, if it were not for two things that are constant (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment: certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople, but destroy. Phaeton's car went but a day; and the three years' drought in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow; but in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which happen to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer, or a younger people than the people of the old world; and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Egyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake), but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge; for earthquakes are seldom in those parts: but on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia, and Africa, and Eu-

rope, are but brooks to them. Their Andes, likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generation of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude, or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part), that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weather comes about again; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the prime; it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions: for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak,

therefore, of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof; all which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving license to pleasures and a voluptuous life: for as for speculative heresies (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians), though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states: except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects: by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many; but chiefly in three things: in the seats or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were the invaders), were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of

theirs: the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome: but east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation: but north and south are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north; whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which, without the aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars; for great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they fail also all goes to ruin, and they become a prey; so was it in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an overpower, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry, or generate, except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day, except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people; but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state

grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war: for commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating: and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes; for certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidraces, in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic; and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvements are, first, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets; secondly, the strength of the percussion, wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations, and ancient inventions; the third is, the commodious use of them, as that they may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number, rather competent than vast, they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like, and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath its infancy when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and, lastly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust; but it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy: as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

NOTES

OF TRUTH

[1] The allusion is to that incident in the life of Jesus recorded in the Gospel according to St. John, xviii, 38. Jesus, brought before Pontius Pilate, declared: "To this end was I born, and for this came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice." "Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all."

[2] The allusion is probably to a group of Greek sceptics who flourished in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and who came to no satisfactory conclusions as to the certainty of things.

[3] The allusion is to the words of St. Augustine, 354–430 A.D. Lamenting the seductive influence upon youth of heathen poetry, he declared late in life: "Not that I blame the words, being, as it were, choice and precious vessels; but that wine of error (devils) which is drunk to us in them by intoxicated teachers; and if we, too, drink not, we are beaten and have no sober judge to whom we may appeal. Yet, O my God . . . all this unhappily I learnt willingly with great delight, and for this was pronounced a hopeful boy." "Confessions," I, xvi, 25. Everyman's Library.

OF DEATH

[1] "The public display of death is more terrifying than death itself."

[2] "Think how often you do the same things. One may wish to die not so much because he is brave or miserable, as that he can despise (living)."

[3] "Livia, farewell, and live on mindful of our union."

[4] "Strength and vitality were now deserting Tiberius, not dissimulation."

[5] "I am becoming a God, I suppose."

[6] "Strike, if it be for the good of the Roman people."

[7] "Hasten if anything remains for me to do."

[8] "Who regards the end of life among the gifts of nature."

[9] The allusion is to the words of Simeon (Gospel according to St. Luke, ii, 29–32), spoken as he took the infant Jesus in his arms when the child

had been brought to the Temple for the rite of circumcision. These words are spoken or chanted as a part of the evening service in the Church of England: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: For my eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all thy people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel."

[10] "The same man, dead, will be loved." The implication is that alive, he was not loved.

OF UNITY IN RELIGION

[1] "Behold! he is in the desert," and "Behold! he is in the secret places." The allusion is to the words of Jesus, recorded in the Gospel according to St. Matthew xxiv, 26. Jesus, having foretold the destruction of the Temple, warns his disciples against the testimony of false prophets: "Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold! he is in the desert; go not there: behold! he is in the secret chambers; believe it not."

[2] The allusion is to the First Epistle of St. Paul (the teacher of the Gentiles) to the Corinthians xiv, 23. "If therefore the whole Church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?"

[3] The allusion is to the Psalms of David i, 1: "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful."

[4] François Rabelais, who died in 1553, listed among the books found in the Library of St. Victor in Paris that one to which Bacon alludes.

[5] The quotation is from the Second Book of Kings, ix, 18. Jehu, having been anointed King of Israel by order of Elisha, the prophet, hastened to attack Joram, who held all Israel. Joram, warned of the approach, sent a scout to meet the king: "So then went one on horseback to meet him, and said, Thus saith the king, Is it peace? And Jehu said, What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me."

[6] The allusion is to a passage from the Revelations of St. John the Divine, iii, 14–16. In his vision St. John receives the command of the Holy Spirit to write to each of the seven Churches of Asia: "And unto the angel of the Church of the Laodiceans write: 'These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God; I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.'"

[7] "Let there be variety in the garment; let there not be division."

[8] "Avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called."

[9] The allusion is to the description of the image Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, recorded in the Book of Daniel ii, 33–41. "Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream a great image whose head was of gold; with breast and arms of silver; belly and thighs of brass; and feet, part of iron and part of clay."

[10] The meaning of this allusion may become clear in the light of the account of the breaking of the Tablets of the Law, in the Book of Exodus, xxxii, 19. While Moses delayed upon Mount Sinai, whither he had gone to receive the Commandments, Aaron and the children of Israel made a golden calf for an idol, and danced before it: "And it came to pass, as soon as he (Moses) came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf and the dancing: and Moses' wrath waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hand, and brake them beneath the mount."

[11] "To such ill deeds could religion persuade a man." Agamemnon, the leader of the Greeks against Troy, vowed to Artemis that he would sacrifice to her the most valuable possession that came to him within the year. It so happened that this was his daughter Iphigeneia. Later, his fleet was held by unfavorable winds at Aulis. Calchas the priest attributed the circumstance to Agamemnon's neglect of his vow. The girl was accordingly bound to the altar for sacrifice, but was miraculously rescued by the goddess to whom she was to have been sacrificed.

[12] The allusion is to the massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572.

[13] The allusion is to the plot attributed to the Catholic party to blow up the House of Lords, November 5, 1605, when the king, royal family, and the Commons would be present.

[14] "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God."

OF REVENGE

[1] Augustus and Antony were instrumental in bringing retribution upon those who were responsible for the murder of Julius Cæsar; and just punishment was administered to Jacques Clement, a fanatic who assassinated Henry III of France in 1599.

OF ADVERSITY

[1] It is of interest to note that this essay was added in 1625 to those that had been issued earlier. At this time Bacon had himself experienced his fall from greatness.

[2] Prometheus, son of Iapetus, stole for man life-giving fire from heaven. For this deed he was bound by the rule of heaven to the Caucasus, to

suffer the torture of having his liver preyed upon by a vulture. He was rescued by Hercules.

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

[1] "Choose the best (in consideration of your own capacities); habit will make that both pleasant and easy."

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

[1] "He preferred his aged wife to immortality."

OF ENVY

[1] "There is not a curious one who is not at the same time malevolent."

[2] It has been suggested that this means "for they cannot lack matter to work upon."

[3] "At one leap."

[4] "How much we suffer."

[5] Derived from the Latin *in* and *video*, literally "to look into." The thought here is in line with the discussion of the 'evil eye' with which Bacon began the essay.

[6] "Envy observes no holidays."

[7] The allusion is to a parable of Jesus, recorded in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, xiii, 25: "Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man which sowed good seed in his field. But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat and went his way."

OF LOVE

[1] Bacon alludes to Antony's love for Cleopatra.

[2] Appius Crassus Claudius, decemvir 451–449 B.C., conceived a passion for Virginia, the daughter of Virginius, a commoner. By deceitful means the decemvir sought to gain possession of Virginia. Virginius killed his daughter in order to prevent her falling victim to the passion of Claudius.

[3] "We are, each for the other, an audience large enough."

[4] The allusion is to an incident in the life of Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy. Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite each claimed the apple that was to belong to the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris was made judge. Each of the three revealed her divine charms to the youth, and each tried to bribe him. Hera promised power; Athena, wisdom; Aphrodite, the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris awarded the judgment to Aphrodite. Paris ultimately gained beautiful Helen, wife of Menelaus, but at the expense of the Trojan War.

OF GREAT PLACE

[1] "Since you are not what you were, there is no reason why you should wish to live."

[2] "Death presses heavily upon that one who, known too well by all, yet dies a stranger to himself."

[3] "And God, turning that he might look upon the works which his hands had made, saw that all was very good."

[4] "As a matter of fact."

[5] "By the consent of all he was capable of governing, even if he had not governed."

[6] "Alone among the Emperors, Vespasian changed for the better."

OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE

[1] Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) was a Florentine statesman and a writer upon historical and political subjects. Among his writings is the work to which Bacon here alludes, "Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius" (Transl. N. H. Thomson, Lond. 1883), Bk. II, ch. ii. Machiavelli, in considering why it was that the nations of antiquity were so much more zealous in their love of liberty than those of the present day, is led to believe that the difference arises from "the different character of the religions then and now. For our religion," he observes, "having revealed to us the truth and the true path, teaches us to make little account of worldly glory. . . . This manner of life, therefore, seems to have made the world feebler, and to have given it over as a prey to wicked men to deal with as they please: since the mass of mankind, in the hope of being received into Paradise, think more how to bear injuries than how to avenge them."

[2] In his Life of Antonius, Plutarch relates the incident to which Bacon alludes. "This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war, as appears from the comedies of Aristophanes and Plato, in which he is exposed as a gloomy misanthrope. . . . Once in an assembly of the people he mounted the Rostrum, and the novelty of the thing occasioning an universal silence and expectation, he said: 'People of Athens, there is a fig-tree in my yard, upon which many worthy citizens have hanged themselves: and as I have determined to build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give public notice, that such as choose to have recourse to this tree for the aforesaid purpose, may repair thither before it is cut down'." Cf. Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, v, 1.

OF SEDITIONS

[1] "He often warns, too, that secret revolt is impending, that treachery and open warfare are preparing to burst forth."

[2] "Mother Earth, irritated at the anger of the gods, bore her last, so they say, sister to Cœus and Enceladus."

[3] "When great envy is aroused, they (the public) condemn deeds good or bad."

[4] "They were in office, and yet chose rather to construe the mandates of the rulers than to execute them."

[5] The first, or primary, motion, which 'according to the old opinion,' was the cause of the motion of all the heavenly bodies.

[6] "More freely than (is justified) if they keep in mind (their) rulers."

[7] "I will unloose the girdles of kings."

[8] "Hence voracious usury, and interest rapidly accumulating; hence shattered faith, and war useful to many."

[9] "To suffering there is a limit; to fear, none."

[10] That is, at the expense of foreign countries.

[11] "The work will surpass the material."

[12] The myth to which allusion is made is to be found in Hesiod's "Works and Days." To punish Prometheus for stealing and men for receiving fire, Zeus resolves to "give them an evil thing wherein they shall rejoice, embracing their own doom." "And he bade glorious Hephaistos speedily to mingle earth with water, and put therein human speech and strength and make as the deathless goddesses to look upon the fair form of a lovely maiden. And Athene He bade teach her handiwork, to weave the embroidered web. And He bade golden Aphrodite shed grace about her head and grievous desire and wasting passion. And Hermes, the Messenger, the Slayer of Argos, He bade give her a shameless mind and a deceitful soul." The work was done as Zeus had commanded. "And he named this woman Pandora, for that all the dwellers in Olympus had bestowed on her a gift: to be the bane of men that live by bread."

"Now when He had wrought the sheer delusion unescapable, the Father sent the glorious Slayer of Argos, the god's swift Messenger, unto Epimetheus with the gift. And Epimetheus took no thought how Prometheus had bidden him never to take a gift from Olympian Zeus, but send it back lest haply it become the bane of men. But he took it, and afterward in sorrow learned its meaning. . . . But the woman took off the great lid of the Jar with her hands and made a scattering thereof and devised baleful sorrows for men. Only Hope abode within her unbreakable chamber under the lips of the Jar and flew not forth. For ere she could, the woman put on the lid of the Jar, as Zeus the Lord of the Ægis, the Gatherer of the Clouds, had devised. But ten thousand other evils wander among men."

[13] "Sulla did not know (his) letters; (thus) he could not dictate." The play upon words here is as pointed in English as in Latin.

[14] "That he levied soldiers, he did not buy them."

[15] "If I live there will be no more work for soldiers in the Roman Empire."

[16] "And such was the state of their minds, that a few dared the worst of crimes; more wished (them); all submitted (to them)."

OF ATHEISM

[1] The allusion is to the "Golden Legend," a collection of fabulous stories of saints; the "Talmud," which contains the Jewish traditions and explanations of the law written in the first five books of Scripture; the "Alcoran," which contains the principles of the Mohammedan faith.

[2] That is to say, the apparent immediate cause of any phenomenon.

[3] The names of these three Greek philosophers are associated with the atomic theory, the principles of which were restated with more or less experimental support in the seventeenth century. The revival of the theories of these thinkers stimulated fierce opposition on the part of orthodox English theologians.

[4] That is, "to whom it seems to be an advantage that there is no God."

[5] "To deny the gods of the common people is not profane; but to apply to the gods the opinions of the common people is profane."

[6] The allusion here is to two Greek philosophers and a satirist. Diagoras passed from the extremes of superstition to those of atheism; Bion, though he lived an atheist, died in superstition; Lucian ridiculed what he believed to be some of the follies of the ancient philosophers.

[7] "It cannot now be said, 'like priest like people'; for the people are not (so bad) as the priests."

[8] "A better, or superior nature."

[9] "Let us pride ourselves as much as we will, Conscript Fathers; still we were not superior to the Spaniards in numbers, or to the Gauls in physical strength, or to the Carthaginians in cunning, or to the Greeks in art, or to the Italians and Latins themselves in the inherent and native good sense of our race and soil; but in piety and religion, and in this one wisdom, that we have perceived all things to be ruled and governed by the power of the immortal gods, we have surpassed all peoples and nations."

OF SUPERSTITION

[1] That is, where arguments are found to justify action, whatever it may be.

[2] The Council of Trent, which sat from 1545 to 1563, was called to discuss and to determine the points of dispute that had arisen on account of the growth of Protestantism.

OF EMPIRE

[1] That is, stretch the strings so taut that they would break.

[2] "The desires of kings are generally impulsive (impetuous) and conflicting."

[3] "Remember that thou art a man" and "Remember that thou art a god," or "the representative of a god."

OF COUNSEL

[1] "I am full of outlets (mouths)."

[2] The fable of Jupiter and Metis that was related near the beginning of the essay.

[3] The allusion is to the words of Jesus recorded in the Gospel according to St. Luke, xviii, 8. Jesus told the story of the unjust judge who determined to rid himself of one of his most troublesome petitioners by avenging her wrongs, and as He brought the narrative to a close He promised that God would avenge "his own elect, which cry day and night to him, though he bear long with them. I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh shall he find faith on the earth?"

[4] "The greatest virtue of a prince is to know his own (counsellors)."

[5] "According to their classes." That is, on the presumption that because a man is of a certain rank or class will he be a sound counsellor.

[6] "The best counsellors are the dead."

[7] "In the night is counsel." That is, sleep on a question before answering it finally.

[8] "To act on the business at hand."

[9] "I will please."

OF CUNNING

[1] "Send both naked to those who do not know them, and you will see."

[2] The allusion is to The Book of the Prophet Nehemiah ii, 1–2. "And it came to pass in the month of Nisan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king, that wine was before him: and I took up the wine, and gave it unto the king. Now I had not been before-time sad in his presence. Wherefore the king said unto me, Why is thy countenance sad, seeing

thou art not sick? this is nothing else but sorrow of heart." Nehemiah then relates that he made his requests of the king, and that all he asked was granted.

[3] The allusion is to the manner in which Claudius was informed that his wife Messalina had married her paramour openly while the Emperor was away from Rome. Tacitus (Annals, XI, 29) tells the story as follows: Narcissus "watched eagerly for his opportunity; and during the Emperor's long sojourn at Ostia, he prevailed on two courtesans who were intimate with Claudius to play the part of informers . . . representing that they would gain by Messalina's fall. Thereupon Calpurnia—so one of the women was called—obtained a private interview with Claudius, threw herself down at his feet, and blurted out that Messalina had been married to Silius. With that she asked Cleopatra, who was standing by for the purpose, Had she heard the news? Cleopatra confirmed the report: whereupon Calpurnia suggested that Narcissus should be sent for." Thus the ice was broken by some whose words were of less weight, and "the more weighty voice" was reserved "to come in as by chance."

[4] "That he had not divers hopes in view, but simply the safety of the emperor."

[5] A customary public walk in Bacon's time was the space about St. Paul's Church.

[6] "The wise one takes heed of his own steps; the fool turns aside to snares."

OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF

[1] "Lovers of themselves without a rival."

OF SEEMING WISE

[1] "Trifle with much effort."

[2] "With one brow elevated to the forehead, the other depressed to the chin, you respond that cruelty does not please you."

[3] "A foolish man who fritters away the weight of matters with the trifles of words."

[4] One who is really bankrupt though he appears prosperous.

OF FRIENDSHIP

[1] "A great city, a great desert."

[2] "These (things), on account of our friendship, I have not concealed from you."

OF TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS

[1] The allusion is to Genesis xlix, 9, 14. "Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up? . . . Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens."

[2] "A land powerful in arms and in richness of soil."

[3] The allusion is to the tree that Nebuchadnezzar beheld in his vision. The dream and its interpretation is recorded in the Book of the Prophet Daniel, iv, 9–27. "I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and sight thereof to the end of all the earth . . . and, behold, a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven. He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit. . . . Nevertheless, leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven. . . .

[4] A technical term applied to those royal decrees that were to become fundamental laws.

[5] "The policy of Pompey is plainly that of Themistocles; for he believes that he who is master of the sea is master of all."

OF SUSPICION

[1] "Suspicion is the passport to faith." As if, when suspicion enters, faith is obliged to take its papers and leave.

OF DISCOURSE

[1] "Boy, spare the whip and more firmly grasp the reins."

OF PLANTATIONS

[1] Bacon means colonies.

OF RICHES

[1] "In the study of increasing his riches he appeared to seek not the gratification of avarice but the means of doing good."

[2] "He who hastens to riches will not be innocent."

[3] "In the sweat of another's brow."

[4] "Wills and the childless caught as in a net." The allusion is to those who try to enrich themselves by becoming the beneficiaries of those who have no children.

OF PROPHECIES

[1] A woman who had powers of divination. The allusion here is to the Witch of Endor, whom Saul consulted.

[2] "The house of Æneas shall rule over every shore, and his children's children, and those who are born of them."

[3] "Ages will come, in the course of time, in which Ocean relaxes his chains and a vast continent appears, and Tiphys discovers new worlds; and no longer will Thule be the utmost limit of the earth."

[4] "You shall see me again at Philippi."

[5] "You, too, Galba, shall taste of Empire."

[6] " 'Eighty-eight' the year of wonders."

OF NATURE IN MEN

[1] "That one is the best asserter of the mind who breaks the chains that gall his breast, and suffers once. That is, it is better to suffer in breaking the bonds that hold one, than to continue in pain without attempting freedom."

[2] "My soul has long been a sojourner."

OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION

[1] Bacon observes that the vow of a fanatic is as powerful as habit. He has just mentioned the names of four men whose fanaticism drove them to violence. Friar Clement assassinated Henry III of France in 1599; Ravillac, Henry IV of France in 1610; Jaureguy attempted the assassination of William of Nassau, and Gerard accomplished the murder of this ruler in 1584.

OF FORTUNE

[1] "Every man is the maker of his own fortune."

[2] "A serpent, unless it has devoured a serpent, does not become a dragon."

[3] "In that man was so much robustness of body and mind, that in whatever place he had been born, it is seen that he would have made his fortune."

[4] "You carry Cæsar and his fortune."

[5] Of the 'Fortunate' and not of the 'Great.'

OF USURY

[1] "They drive from the hives the drones, the lazy swarm."

[2] "In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt," not "in the sweat of another."

[3] By law the Jews were obliged to wear distinctive colors, one of which was 'orange-tawny.'

[4] "A concession because of hardness of heart."

OF YOUTH

[1] "He passed his youth in errors, in truth, full of madnesses."

[2] "He remained the same, but the same was no longer becoming."

[3] "The last (years) fell short of the first."

OF BEAUTY

[1] "The autumn of the beautiful is beautiful."

OF BUILDING

[1] The god of mirth.

OF SUITORS

[1] "Ask what is unreasonable in order that you may receive what is just."

OF STUDIES

[1] "Studies terminate into manners."

OF FACTION

[1] "As one of us."

OF PRAISE

[1] "Appearances similar to virtues."

[2] "A good name is like a fragrant ointment."

[3] "Conscience disregarded."

[4] "To instruct by praising."

[5] "Those who flatter are the worst sort of enemies."

[6] "I will magnify my apostleship."

OF VAIN GLORY

[1] "They who write books condemning glory inscribe their own names."

[2] "By a certain art a vain boaster of all that he said and did."

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION

[1] "All fame emanates from domestics."

[2] Celebrated code of laws compiled by Alphonso X of Castile. The laws were arranged in seven parts; hence, 'siete partidas.'

OF JUDICATURE

[1] "A just man falling in his cause before his adversary is as a turbid fountain and a corrupt spring."

[2] "He who wrings the nose hard brings out blood." The allusion is to the Proverbs of Solomon, xxx, 33. "Surely the churning of milk bringeth forth butter, and the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood; so the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife."

[3] "He will rain snares upon them." The allusion is to the Psalms of David, xl, 6. "Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest: this shall be the portion of their cup."

[4] The complete quotation, from Ovid's "Tristium" I, i, 37–38, is as follows:

> Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum
> Quærere.
> "It the duty of a judge to inquire into the circumstances of the facts as well as the facts themselves."

[5] "The safety of the people is the supreme law."

[6] "We know that law is good provided that it is used legitimately."

OF ANGER

[1] "and put their lives in the sting." That is, to die after they have stung an enemy.

[2] "A thicker covering of honor." Gonsalvo, called the Great Captain, commanded the armies of Ferdinand the Catholic, and was active in the conquest of Granada.

GLOSSARY

Abateth: to turn the edge; to blunt: *Of Nobility*

Abridge: cut short: *Of Travel*

Abstract: withdrawn; removed: *Of Riches*

Accident: symptom: *Of Regimen of Health*

Aculeate: pointed; incisive; stinging: *Of Anger*

Adamant: magnet; centre of attraction: *Of Travel*

Admired: wondered at: *Of Innovations*

Admittance: passing over (in this sentence): *Of Seeming Wise*

Advoutresses: adultresses: *Of Empire*

Affect: seek to attain: *Of Cunning*

Affecting: seeking to attain: *Of Truth*

Affection: disposition towards: *Of Parents and Children*

Affections: passions: *Of Envy*

Agitation: debate; discussion; consideration: *Of Counsel*

Almaigne: Germany: *Of Vicissitude of Things*

Aloof: distant: *Of Empire*

Amici curiæ: friends of the court: *Of Judicature*

Anathema: a thing accursed: *Of Goodness*

Ante-camera: antechamber: *Of Buildings*

Anti-masques: comic and grotesque dances: *Of Masques*

Appetite: desire: *Of Negotiation*

Apposed: questioned; examined: *Of Cunning*

Argument: subject matter of discussion; theme: *Of True Greatness*

Arietations: acts of striking with a battering ram: *Of Vicissitude*

Assured: made sure or certain; pledged: *Of Seditions*

Assureth: to give a guarantee: *Of Atheism*

Avoidances: outlets: *Of Building*

Bargains: advantageous purchases: *Of Riches*

Bay-salt: salt obtained in large crystals by slow evaporation: *Of Plantations*

Bear it: carry the day: *Of Seeming Wise*

Beaver: The lower portion of the face-guard of a helmet, when worn with a visor: *Of Prophecies*

Beholding: under obligation; indebted: *Of Love*

Belly: The bulging part of a pot or bottle: *Of Delays*

Bent: a grass-like reed or rush: *Of Gardens*

Bereaved: deprived of; dispossessed of: *Of Counsel*

Bias (upon their bowl): a term applied as well to the construction of the bowl as to the kind of impetus given it to cause it to roll obliquely: *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*

Blanch: flatter: *Of Counsel;* to shut the eyes to; shirk: *Of Seeming Wise*

Borderers: those who dwell near the border of a country or a district: *Of True Greatness*

Brave: to boast of; to appear to know: *Of Seditions*

Bravery: display; show: *Of Great Place;* swaggering; 'showing off': *Of Dispatch;* a boast: *Of Anger*

Brook: put up with: *Of Friendship*

Bruit: rumour; report noised abroad: *Of Vain Glory*

Buckling: girding oneself to meet something: *Of Delays*

Busy: prying; meddlesome; officious: *Of Envy*; constantly occupied: *Of Ambition*

Buzzes: groundless fancies: *Of Suspicion*

Cabinets: museums: *Of Travel;* small chambers; private apartments: *Of Building*

Can: to have the ability: *Of Great Place*

Canvasses: in the singular number the word means the process of soliciting votes before an election: *Of Cunning*

Cashiered: dismissed: *Of Faction*

Castoreum: a reddish-brown substance having a strong smell and bitter taste, used in medicine and perfume: *Of Friendship*

Cauterised: seared; deadened: *Of Atheism*

Certify: to testify to; to vouch for: *Of Plantations*

Challenge: demand as a right: *Of Followers*

Chance: the happening of events; the way things fall out: *Of Travel*

Chapmen: men whose business is buying and selling: *Of Riches*

Charge: expense; responsibility: *Of Vain Glory*

Check: to come into hostile conflict with: *Of Love; Of Suspicion*

Choleric: inclined to wrath; fiery: *Of Travel*

Chop: bandy words: *Of Judicature*

Chopping: exchanging one thing for another: *Of Riches*

Churchmen: the clergy: *Of Marriage*

Civil: having proper public or social order: *Of Superstition*

Clamour: to disturb: *Of Counsel*

Close: secret: *Of Great Place*

Coemption: the buying up of the whole supply of any commodity; 'corner': *Of Riches*

Collation: the bestowal of a benefice upon a clergyman: *Of Empire*

Colour: hue; the general effect produced (in a picture) by all the colours: *Of Beauty*

Commiserable: pitiable: *Of Plantations*

Communia maledicta: common, or general reproaches: *Of Anger*

Communicate: to be enjoyed in common with: *Of Goodness*

Compass: due limits: *Of True Greatness*

Conceits: private opinions: *Of Simulation and Dissimulation;* fancies: *Of Superstition*

Conscience: inward knowledge; consciousness: *Of Great Place*

Consent: agreement: *Of Atheism; Of Deformity*

Consistories: ecclesiastical courts: *Of Travel*
Contemplative: speculative; reflective: *Of Atheism*
Contracting: concentrating: *Of Dispatch*
Contumely: insolent reproach: *Of Superstition*
Conversation: occupation; engagement: *Of Friendship*
Converse: are engaged in: *Of Nature in Men*
Coppice: a small wood or thicket of under wood and small trees grown for the purpose of periodical cutting: *Of True Greatness*
Copulate: united: *Of Custom and Education*
Cornelians: fruit of the Cornel-tree (somewhat like cherries): *Of Gardens*
Corroborate: confirmed: *Of Custom and Education*
Corrupteth: decays: *Of Superstition*
Cost: labour; attention: *Of Death*
Course: the act of running: *Of Discourse*
Coveteth: desires; longs for: *Of Prophecies*
Crooked: not straightforward: *Of Cunning*
Crosiers: staff that is one of the insignia of the office of bishop: *Of Empire*
Cross: thwart; obstruct: *Of Cunning*
Cruel: extremely painful: *Of Empire*
Curious: subtle; intricate: *Of Dispatch;* inquiring: *Of Envy*
Curiosities: niceties of argument: *Of Envy*
Custom: duty; tax: *Of Plantations*
Cymini sectores: (literally) splitters of cumin; that is, hair-splitters: *Of Studies*

Daubed: covered or coated: *Of Masques*
Deceivable: deceptive: *Of Deformity*
Deceive: cheat; defraud: *Of Gardens*
Declination: decline; decay: *Of Cunning*
Decline: to avert; to turn aside: *Of Fortune*
Deliveries: rescues: *Of Empire*
Derive: divert: *Of Envy*
Despising: disregarding: *Of Seditions*
Destitute: desert; neglect; abandon: *Of Plantations*
Device: plan; contrivance: *Of Counsel*
Diet: take meals; board: *Of Travel*
Difficileness: the quality of being unaccommodating: *Of Goodness*
Discover: reveal; disclose to knowledge: *Of Negotiating*
Disemboltura: graceful delivery of one's sentiments: *Of Fortune*
Disputations: debates: *Of Travel*
Disreputation: loss of reputation; disgrace: *Of Followers*
Distasted: disgusted: *Of Suitors*
Divers: several: *Of Counsel*
Dole: distributing: *Of Riches*
Donative: giving: *Of Riches*
Doubting: suspecting; fearing: *Of Expense*
Doubts: suspicions; fears: *Of Cunning*
Dry blow: a blow given with a stick or fist; a blow that does not draw blood: *Of Discourse*

Eccentric: not agreeing with: *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*

Eccentrics: circles or orbits not having the earth precisely in their centres: *Of Superstition*

Edge: urge on; incite: *Of Usury*

Ejaculation: the emission of rays of occult influence: *Of Envy*

Elaborate: worked out: *Of Counsel*

Election: power of deliberate choice or preference: *Of Deformity*

Enervate: weaken: *Of Vicissitude*

Engines: artifices; contrivances; devices: *Of Superstition*

Engrossing: buying up (land): *Of Seditions*

Enterpriser: adventurer: *Of Fortune*

Epicycles: a small circle having its centre on the circumference of a greater circle: *Of Superstition*

Equipollent: equal in power: *Of Custom and Education*

Esculent: edible: *Of Plantations*

Estate: kingdom; commonwealth: *Of Nobility; Of Seditions;* property; fortune: *Of Friendship*

Estimation: repute; appreciation: *Of Expense*

Estivation: summer retreat: *Of Building*

Excusations: apologies; excuses: *Of Dispatch*

Exhaust: exhausted; drained: *Of Marriage and Single Life*

Experience: actual observation of facts or events considered as a source of knowledge: *Of Travel*

Externe: not essential; having an outside origin: *Of Youth and Age*

Facility: easiness of being led or persuaded to good or bad: *Of Great Place*

Fainted: weakened: *Of Atheism*

Fair: courteously; civilly: *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*

Falls: cases; conditions: *Of Cunning*

Fame: report: *Of Riches*

Fames: rumours: *Of Seditions*

Fast flowers: flowers that are tenacious of (their fragrance): *Of Gardens*

Favour: feature (countenance; figure): *Of Beauty*

Fetch: take a roundabout course; (we often say 'far-fetched'): *Of Cunning*

Find: to make known: *Of Empire*

Flash: a brief moment: *Of True Greatness*

Flout: a mocking speech or action: *Of Discourse*

Fond: foolish; silly: *Of Friendship*

Foot: standard or market value: *Of Usury*

Forbid: keep back; hinder: *Of Empire*

Fortunate: prosperous: *Of Revenge; Of Empire*

Frame: order: *Of Seditions*

Friarly: resembling a friar; after the manner of a friar: *Of Riches*

Froward: stubborn; perverse: *Of Innovations*

Fruition: enjoyment; pleasure arising from possession: *Of Riches*

Fume: imagination (as if a vapour had clouded the good sense): *Of Vicissitude*

Futile: addicted to talking without saying anything: *Of Simulation and Dissimulation; Of Counsel*

Gadding: wandering idly: *Of Envy*

Galliard(s): a quick and lively dance in triple time: *Of Discourse*

Genitings: early apples: *Of Gardens*

Gingles: ornaments or trinkets: *Of Plantations*

Globe: a complete or perfect body: *Of Great Place*

Glorious: boastful: *Of Vain Glory*

Glory: boast; pride: *Of Counsel*

Go: walk: *Of Death*

Goings: manner of moving: *Of Truth*

Griefs: wrongs or injuries that are the burdens of complaints: *Of Seditions*

Grindeth: works hardship: *Of Riches*

Habilitations: qualifications: *Of True Greatness*

Habit: external deportment: *Of Goodness*

Half-piece: a half (perhaps of a coin) of no value without the other half: *Of Friendship*

Hearse-like: mournful: *Of Adversity*

Heir in remainder: heir to the portion of a particular estate left after the estate has been settled: *Of Friendship*

Honour: official dignity: *Of Nobility;* exalted rank or position: *Of Ambition*

Houses: families, including ancestors and descendants: *Of Parents and Children*

Humorous: influenced by mood; capricious: *Of Marriage and the Single Life*

Impertinences: irrelevant matters: *Of Marriage and the Single Life*

Importune: persistent; troublesome: *Of Envy; Of Nature*

Imposthumations: festerings: *Of Seditions*

Impropriate: to make one's own: *Of True Greatness*

Inbowed: bent into the shape of an arch; inbowed, (enbowed) window is a 'bay-window': *Of Building*

Incensed: burned: *Of Adversity*

Incommodities: disadvantages: *Of Usury*

Inconformity: want of agreement with a pattern: *Of Innovations*

Incorporate: blended: *Of Unity in Religion*

Incurreth: come in so as to meet the eye or the observation: *Of Envy*

Indifferent: neutral: *Of Simulation and Dissimulation;* impartial: *Of Counsel*

Indignities: acts involving shame or disgrace: *Of Great Place*

Intend: turn (their) thoughts to; occupy (themselves) with: *Of True Greatness*

Interest: not "to take up peace at interest" might mean unwilling to accept peace however much the benefit or remuneration might be: *Of Empire*

Interlace: involve: *Of Great Place*

Interlocution: reply; response: *Of Discourse*

Intervenient: that which is incidental to something: *Of Judicature*

Inure: bring (a person) by use or habit to a certain state of mind: *Of Ambition*
Inward: secret: *Of Great Place*

Jus civitas: right of citizenship: *Of True Greatness*
Jus commercii: right of trading: *Of True Greatness*
Jus connubii: right of intermarriage: *Of True Greatness*
Jus honorum: right of honors: *Of True Greatness*
Jus suffragii: right of suffrage: *Of True Greatness*
Just: proper; complete: *Of Seditions*

Keep quarter: make (someone) stay in his own place: *Of Love*
Kind: way; fashion: *Of Friendship*
Knap: a small hill or knoll: *Of Building*

Lasting: continuance: *Of Regimen*
Laudatives: eulogies; praises: *Of True Greatness*
Lazy: slow-moving; sluggish: *Of Usury*
Leads: roof made tight with lead: *Of Building*
Letting: hindering: *Of Gardens*
Licentious: unrestrained: *Of Seditions*
Light: quick; swift: *Of Marriage and Single Life*
Looses: issues: *Of Cunning*
Lump: mass of clay taken up by the potter, or the mass of dough intended for one baking. Hence, the material going to make up one family: *Of Parents and Children*
Lurcheth: monopolizes: *Of Building*

Marish: marshy: *Of Plantations*
Masteries (to try): to try conclusions; to contest: *Of Empire*
Mate: overcome; subdue: *Of Seditions*
Material: full of matter; sound information; well prepared: *Of Dispatch*
Mean (in a): with moderation: *Of Adversity*
Meat: solid food: *Of Plantations*
Medicine: any substance used as a cure: *Of Innovations*
Merchandizing: trade; commerce: *Of Usury*
Mew: moult: *Of True Greatness*
Moderator: director: *Of Dispatch*
Motion: activity: *Of Great Place*
Motions: movements; activities: *Of Seditions*
Moving: proposing: *Of Cunning*
Muck: fertilizer: *Of Seditions*
Muniting: fortifying: *Of Unity in Religion*
Mystery: secret, hidden, special meaning: *Of Adversity*

Nature: the general inherent character or disposition of mankind: *Of Nature in Men*
Near: close at hand: *Of Empire*
Negotiis pares: equal to business: *Of True Greatness*
Newel: a central open space or well in a winding stair: *Of Building*
Nice: strict; particular: *Of True Greatness*
Note: knowledge; information: *Of Suitors*
Nothing: not at all: *Of Delays*

Obnoxious: exposed to: *Of Ambition*

Occasion: the subject treated or debated: *Of Discourse*
Oraculous: ambiguous: *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*
Ouches: clasps or brooches often set with precious stones: *Of Masques*
Overcome: reach; overtake; gain: *Of Riches*
Owing: not paid: *Of Regimen*

Padre comune: the common father: *Of Faction*
Palm: handbreadth: *Of Empire*
Parasiti curiæ: flatterers, or toadies of the court: *Of Judicature.*
Participes curarum: partners of care: *Of Friendship*
Particular: special case: *Of Seditions;* affecting a part, not the whole of something; not universal: *Of Vicissitude*
Passages: digressions: *Of Dispatch*
Persuaded: demonstrated: *Of Unity in Religion*
Philology: " literature "; history; love of talking or telling about a thing: *Of Vicissitude*
Physic: medical science: *Of Regimen*
Pineapple-trees: pine trees: *Of Gardens*
Place: precedence: *Of Travel*
Plausible: popular; winning public approval: *Of Envy;* deserving of approval: *Of Seditions*
Poco di matto: a little of the fool: *Of Fortune*
Point device: perfectly correct: *Of Ceremonies*
Politic: prudent: *Of Simulation and Dissimulation;* political; that is 'body politic': *Of Boldness*
Politicians: intriguers: *Of Unity in Religion*
Poll: head: *Of True Greatness*
Polling: cheating: *Of Judicature*
Poser: one who sets testing questions: *Of Discourse*
Praying: craving (the assistance of): *Of Friendship*
Pre-occupation (of mind): prepossession of the mind which gives it a certain disposition or tendency: *Of Dispatch*
Pressed: forced to enlist in the public service; drafted: *Of True Greatness*
Prick in: to plant (seedlings) in small holes: *Of Travel*
Primum mobile: first source of motion: *Of Superstition*
Profane: not initiated into the religious rites or sacred mysteries: *Of Unity in Religion*
Proof: issue; result: *Of Parents and Children*
Proper: special; peculiar to a thing itself: *Of Friendship*
Proud: magnificent: *Of Riches*
Pulings: plaintive pipings: *Of Masques*
Pure: unbroken; intact: *Of Plantations*
Purprise: enclosure: *Of Judicature*
Push: pimple; boil; *Of Praise*
Puzzle: confusion; intricacy: *Of Great Place*

Quarrel: reason; cause: *Of Marriage and Single Life;* occasion for hostile feeling: *Of True Greatness*
Quarter (to keep good): to preserve good order: *Of Cunning*
Quecking: wincing; flinching: *Of Custom and Education*

Quire: company of singers: *Of Masques*

Rasps: raspberries: *Of Gardens*
Reach: attain to a condition; suffice; be adequate to: *Of Riches*
Reason: good sense: *Of Great Place*
Recamera: retiring-room: *Of Building*
Recreative: diverting: *Of Masques*
Referendaries: those to whom matters are referred: *Of Suitors*
Reglement: regulation: *Of Usury*
Reins: kidneys: *Of Studies*
Relate: unburden oneself: *Of Friendship*
Remover: a restless or stirring person: *Of Fortune*
Reparation: making amends: *Of Suitors*
Resorts: means by which a thing is done: *Of Cunning*
Respect: have reference to: *Of Masques*
Respects: considerations; motives: *Of Great Place;* relationships: *Of Nobility*
Rest (set up their): stake their all: *Of True Greatness*
Reverend: worthy of respect: *Of Counsel*
Ribes: currants: *Of Gardens*
Rid: dispose of: *Of True Greatness*
Rise: occasion or means of rising in fortune or rank: *Of Riches*
Round: thoroughly accomplished; carried out to a proper finish: *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*

Sad: dark: *Of Adversity*
Sarza: sarsaparilla: *Of Friendship*
Science: knowledge acquired by study: *Of Boldness*
Scrivener: one who receives money to put out at interest; a kind of broker: *Of Riches*
Seat: site: *Of Building*
Seeled: with the eyelids stitched shut (part of the taming of a falcon for hunting): *Of Ambition*
Sell: exchange: *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*
Shrewd: mischievous; hurtful; dangerous: *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*
Sit: to occupy on a lease: *Of Usury*
Slide: act of passing from one place to another with a smooth movement; (figurative): *Of Nobility;* smoothness; fluency: *Of Fortune*
Slug: slow, lazy fellow: *Of Usury*
Soap-ashes: ashes of certain kinds of wood used in the making of soap: *Of Plantations*
Solecism: blunder: *Of Empire*
Sort: to associate with: *Of Parents and Children;* agree with; suit: *Of Nature in Men*
Sorteth: results in: *Of Parents and Children*
Spangs: spangles: *Of Masques*
Speculative: given to prying or searching into: *Of Counsel*
Spials: spies: *Of Deformity*
Staddles: young trees left standing where others larger are cut down: *Of True Greatness*
Steal: to accomplish (a thing) unperceived: *Of Great Place*
Stick: hesitate: *Of Cunning*
Stir: raise: *Of Great Place*
Stirps: clans; family stocks: *Of Nobility*

Stonds: stoppages; obstructions: *Of Fortune*
Stoved: put into a hothouse: *Of Gardens*
Strange: alien: *Of Empire*
Succession: the coming of one person after another: *Of Youth and Age*
Suit: succession; sequence; series: *Of Vicissitude*
Suitors: those who present petitions: *Of Suitors*
Superficies: outward form or aspect: *Of Seeming Wise*
Superstition: imagination of unknown things: *Of Death; Of Custom*
Surfeit: to indulge in to excess: *Of Parents and Children*
Sustentation: nourishment; means of living: *Of Vicissitude*

Temper: constitution; character: *Of Empire*
Temperature: disposition; temperament: *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*
Tender: delicate; needing cautious handling: *Of Cunning*
Thorough: extending through: *Of Building*
Timing: choosing the appropriate moment: *Of Suitors*
Touch: reference: *Of Discourse*
Towardness: natural aptitude; 'promise': *Of Empire*
Toy: an idle tale: *Of Vicissitude*
Transcendencies: exaggerations; hyperboles: *Of Adversity*
Travail: work: *Of True Greatness*
Tribunitious: factious; violent; argumentative: *Of Counsel*
Turquets: players dressed to resemble Turks: *Of Masques*

Undertakers: those who 'back' or underwrite an enterprise: *Of Plantations*
Undertaking: enterprising; energetic: *Of Envy*
Upbraid: bring into the open as matter for reproach: *Of Envy*
Usury: interest upon money: *Of Usury*

Vaunted: boasted: *Of Friendship*
Vein: inclination; desire: *Of Envy*
Veins: kinds: *Of Truth*
Vena porta: the great vessel that conveys the blood to the liver. In this sense, the principal gateway: *Of Usury*
Ver perpetuum: perpetual spring: *Of Gardens*
Versatile ingenium: a versatile genius: *Of Fortune*
Version: direction: *Of Vicissitude*
Victuals: supplies: *Of Plantations*
Virtuous: valiant: *Of Nobility*
Votary: of the nature of a vow: *Of Custom and Education*
Vulgar: the common people: *Of Boldness*

Want: lack: *Of Empire*
Wantons: spoiled children; pampered pets: *Of Parents and Children*
Wardens: baking pears: *Of Gardens*
Watching: remaining awake: *Of Regimen*
Wind: insinuate: *Of Judicature*
Wit: mind; intellect: *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*

The MODERN READERS' SERIES

ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE, *General Editor*

THE MODERN READERS' SERIES presents the world's best literature: famous novels, and newer fiction of permanent interest; poetry; noted essays and dramas; eminent works of history, economics, science, philosophy, and education. American literature is prominent. Unusual and hitherto inaccessible books are included as are also translations of foreign books that have become a traditional part of a literary background.

In general, the titles in the series are available in two bindings: the one, a rich, dark green, half leather; the other, a handsome, durable blue cloth.

Volumes Published

IN HALF LEATHER OR IN CLOTH

(All of these titles are unabridged)

ADDISON: *Essays*
*AESOP: *Fables.* Ed. by Jacobs
ALCOTT: *Little Women*
ALLEN: *A Kentucky Cardinal* and *Aftermath*
ARNOLD: *Culture and Anarchy*
AUSTEN: *Emma*
BORROW: *Lavengro*
BRONTË: *Jane Eyre*
BRONTË: *Wuthering Heights*
BROWN: *Edgar Huntly*
*BROWNING: *Selected Poems*
BURNS: *Selected Poems*
*BUTLER: *The Way of All Flesh*
BYRON: *Don Juan*
CARLYLE: *Past and Present; Sartor Resartus*
*CELLINI: *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*
*CHEKHOV: *Short Stories*
COLERIDGE: *Biographia Literaria*
CONGREVE: *Comedies*
COOPER: *The Last of the Mohicans; The Spy*
DANA: *Two Years before the Mast*
DARWIN: *The Origin of Species*
DICKENS: *A Tale of Two Cities*
David Copperfield (2 vols.)
*DOSTOEVSKY: *Crime and Punishment*
*DOUGLAS: *South Wind*
DUMAS: *The Three Musketeers*
EGGLESTON: *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*
*ELIOT: *Middlemarch*
EMERSON: *Essays*
*FRANCE: *Thaïs*
FRANKLIN: *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*
*GILBERT: *The Mikado* and *Other Operas*

(*Continued*)

* Cannot be sold in British Dominions

The MODERN READERS' SERIES

(Continued from previous page)

GOLDSMITH: *The Vicar of Wakefield*
*HARDY: *The Return of the Native*
HARTE: *The Luck of Roaring Camp* and *Selected Stories* and *Poems*
HAWTHORNE: *The Scarlet Letter*
HAZLITT: *Essays*
*HÉMON: *Maria Chapdelaine*
HOLMES: *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*
HUXLEY: *Essays*
*IBSEN: *Plays*
IRVING: *The Sketch Book*
*JAMES: *Daisy Miller* and *An International Episode*
KEATS: *Complete Poems*
LAMB: *The Essays of Elia*
*LONDON: *The Call of the Wild* and *Other Stories*
MACAULAY: *Historical Essays*
*MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS: *To Himself*
MELVILLE: *Moby Dick* (2 vols.)
*MEREDITH: *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*
MILL: *On Liberty* and *Other Essays*
MILTON: *Areopagitica* and *Other Prose Writings*
*MULOCK: *John Halifax, Gentleman*
NEIHARDT: *The Song of Three Friends* and *The Song of Hugh Glass*
PARKMAN: *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac*
*PATER: *Marius the Epicurean*
POE: *Selected Poems; Tales*
POLO: *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* ("*Travels*")
RUSKIN: *Time and Tide* and *Munera Pulveris*
SCOTT: *Kenilworth; Selected Poems*
SHERIDAN: *Plays*
*STEVENSON: *Treasure Island*
STOWE: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
SWIFT: *Gulliver's Travels*
*TENNYSON: *Idylls of the King*
THACKERAY: *Henry Esmond; Vanity Fair* (2 vols.)
THOREAU: *Walden*
TROLLOPE: *Barchester Towers*
TWAIN: *The Innocents Abroad*
WHITE: *A Certain Rich Man*
WHITMAN: *Leaves of Grass*
WILKINSON: *Contemporary Poetry*
WORDSWORTH: *Poems*
WYSS: *The Swiss Family Robinson*

IN BLUE CLOTH ONLY

(Unabridged titles are indicated by †)

BARKER: *Forty-Minute Plays from Shakespeare*
BLACKMORE: *Lorna Doone*
CERVANTES: *Don Quixote*
COOPER: *The Pathfinder*
DICKENS: *David Copperfield*
DUMAS: *The Three Musketeers*
*GARLAND: *A Son of the Middle Border*†
HOMER: *The Iliad*
KINGSLEY: *Hypatia*
NEIHARDT: *The Song of the Indian Wars*†
*PALGRAVE: *The Golden Treasury*†
PORTER: *The Scottish Chiefs*
RIIS: *The Making of an American*†
SCOTT: *The Heart of Midlothian; Ivanhoe*
SMITH: *Short Plays by Representative Authors*†
THACKERAY: *Vanity Fair*
WATTS: *Nathan Burke*†
WISTER: *Lady Baltimore*†

For further details, and titles in preparation, write for circular.

* Cannot be sold in British Dominions